

JFRS 83296

20 April 1983

Sub-Saharan Africa Report

No. 2787

FBIS

FOREIGN BROADCAST INFORMATION SERVICE

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20 April 1983

SUB-SAHARAN AFRICA REPORT

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CONTINENTAL SECURITY DISCUSSED

Paris POLITIQUE INTERNATIONALE Winter 82-83 pp 39-48

[Article by Charles Zorgbibe: "Which Security For Africa?"]

[Text] [The author is] dean of the Paris-South Faculty of Law, president of the Atlantic Council for Strategic Studies. Most recent work: "Les alliances dans le système mondial" [Alliances in the World System] (in the press at PUF [French University Press]).

This paper takes up the main lines of a report presented at the Symposium of the General Secretariat for National Defense.

Three pictures in the African kaleidoscope.

The first one is surprisingly traditional: a diplomatic game which is taking place not on a continental scale, but within the various African subregions, an egalitarian and divided game which brings us back to the European balance-of-power-diplomacy of the 18th and 19th centuries, with its ballet of alliances and counter-alliances. In East Africa, Tanzanian and Uganda (until Amin Dada's takeover) formed a coalition against Kenya's economic preponderance, then Tanzania drew closer to Zambia to make up for Uganda's defection; in North Africa, the alliance between Libya and Tunisia was concluded at the expense of Egypt and Algeria and then gave way to a Libyan-Algerian alliance against Morocco. "Each regional African subsystem forms a little 19th-century Europe or Latin America," according to Boutros Boutros-Ghali.

The second image is futuristic: to fulfill Africa's ambition to maintain order on the continent and to participate in maintaining order in the world, many African experts of the new generation advocate nonalignment supported by nuclear weapons. To the concept of a denuclearized Africa, they want to substitute that of a nuclear consortium consisting of Nigeria, Zaire and a South Africa that would be ruled by its black majority. The road to military equality would go through the proliferation of nuclear weapons in the Third World. Access to nuclear weapons would be a sort of initiation rite for nations reaching adult age.

The third image is more up-to-date and more down-to-earth: the strategic position of Africa is matched only by the military impotence of African states. They are handicapped by technological underdevelopment. Also by the internal vulnerability of shallow-rooted regimes, nations deeply divided into rival ethnic groups: throughout history the African state has been wished for by the nations on the continent, but it is questioned because it was designed from abroad; the appeal to national consciousness expresses itself through membership in a tribe. Above all, there are foreign interferences: the high wind of East-West tensions has reached the black continent; Africa is no longer a private hunting ground of western countries; a veritable socialist subsystem has emerged with the quadrangle consisting of Ethiopia, Mozambique, Angola and the Congo, which was completed with the Soviet-Congolese alliance of 13 May 1981.

Three pictures in the African kaleidoscope. Three facets of the African diplomatic and strategic system. Three possible roads to explore the means and objectives of "African security."

African Regional Alliances?

"In Africa, just as in Samuel Beckett's play, Godot has not arrived yet." The Godot Jean-Claude Gautron thus alluded to was African integration. An integration whose rationality cannot be questioned: economically, it will lead to production increase and diversification and to improved investment coordination; politically, it will strengthen Africa's power with respect to foreign influences and will allow a certain social pluralism--if only through the circulation of ideas and men. However, the two strategies attempted--the radical federalist project designed by Nkrumah, and a more flexible federalization process that privileged economic cooperation as a driving force--have come up against strong structural constraints: most geopolitical or geocultural frameworks were inherited from colonial times and this has affected the innovation power of the new organizations; the primary function of African integration does not appear to be to go beyond state entities, but to strengthen state power by increasing the external capacity of governments and acting as a substitute for nonexistent diplomatic infrastructures.

In the field of defense and collective security, the failure of Pan-African ambitions is especially obvious. Africa is not covered by a collective defense treaty--like the Treaty of Rio for the American continent. The Organization of African Unity does include a defense commission, whose mission is to organize military cooperation between member states and to ensure the defense of their sovereignty and integrity--but that commission seldom meets, even when clouds are gathering over the black continent. And the creation of an "Inter-African Force to Maintain Peace in Chad" at the Nairobi Pan-African summit of June 1981 demonstrated above all the ambiguity of that institution: was it a mere police force created to protect Chadian authorities and demilitarize the country, according to the mandate defined by the OAU, or was it a "spearhead" against Hissen Habre's troops, as Goukouni's government had wished?

In the absence of military integration or cooperation on the scale of the whole continent, would regional African collective security systems not reflect the reality of an Africa of homelands revelling, on each regional scene, in a balance-of-power diplomacy? Certainly, we could retort that whereas the regionalization of the African system is a fact, it is unfortunately more often measured by the intensity of intra-regional conflicts than by the density of defense agreements among neighbors. In Central Africa, the two wars in the Shaba have shown the fragility and the operational ineffectiveness of the Zairian army, and prevented Zaire from playing the part of a "regional pole" that had seemed to be hers. In East Africa, while Tanzania has been trying to play the leader since its effective intervention in Uganda against Amin Dada's regime and his Libyan ally, Ethiopia is too much involved in the Erythrean conflict to give free rein to its ambitions. In southern Africa, the model of "regional security" dear to Pretoria--the confederation formed by a politically white South Africa and its black satellites--is challenged, as illegitimate, by liberation movements and "Front States."

That leaves West Africa, a true laboratory where future African regional security systems are tested. On 9 June 1977, in Abidjan, at the initiative of the Ivory Coast, seven French-speaking West African states signed a "Non-Aggression and Defense Aid Agreement" (ANAD). The new alliance is based on three major principles: non-recourse to force among partner states (a precaution which proved not to be superfluous when a border conflict arose between Mali and Upper Volta); a mutual assistance agreement in the case of an aggression; the pooling of the allied's military forces. A general secretariat has been set up in Abidjan; it is headed by a Senegalese officer. Is that a first attempt at creating institutions? Some countries remain reluctant: Mauritania and especially Mali which, on the one hand, does not want to "be in the way" of Algeria (Algeria does not see with a favorable eye the creation of a Subsaharan alliance) and, on the other hand, demands the dismantling of all French bases existing on the territory of the allied states.

Another stage in West Africa's reorganization, beyond the traditional divisions into "moderate" and "progressive," into "French-speaking," "English-speaking" and "Portuguese-speaking" countries: a draft mutual assistance agreement to the scale of West Africa as a whole is now being negotiated by the Community of West African States which was created on 28 May 1975. It provides for the creation of Community allied forces that would intervene in the case of a foreign aggression, a conflict between member states, or even an internal conflict stirred up by powers foreign to the continent. Again, some of the states involved are reluctant, considering the expected preponderance of Nigeria, the West African giant, with its 75 million inhabitants, its oil, its army--an army that numbers 173 thousand men, quantitatively the second army in Subsaharan Africa, after that of Ethiopia, with more troops than all armies of the other West African Community states put together; a defense budget of 1.75 billion dollars, the second in Subsaharan Africa after that of South Africa, whereas the budgets of Ghana, the Ivory Coast and Upper Volta amount respectively to 150, 142 and 136 million dollars. Others who are reluctant include the "band of four"--Benin, Mali, Guinea-Bissau and Cape-Verde--which feel that most ANAD states are unduly influenced by France. In addition, Niger is suggesting three precautions

to avoid "deviations" of an open-force allied intervention: only a characterized foreign aggression could justify such an intervention; the allied forces would then be placed under the control of the country threatened--which alone would have the power to make a final decision to intervene.

Will this attempt at military cooperation in West Africa succeed? It would represent a first African answer to this huge need for security which was expressed at the Franco-African summit in Paris, in May 1978. At the time, Louis de Guiringaud, after reaffirming Paris's determination to work for stability in Africa, had stressed the need for "operational systems" implemented by the African states themselves.

"Restraint" on the Part of Foreign Powers?

Extroverted Africa: the defense agreements signed by African states with powers foreign to the continent, just as the military interventions of the past few years, show Africa's diplomatic and strategic dependence. Africa remains an international stake, the instrument of a confrontation that goes beyond it. New actors have emerged--whether the Arab-Islamic thrust on the "Saharan crown" under its many forms, from the Algerian-Moroccan rivalry in Western Sahara to Colonel Qadhafi's African dream, or the return of the Soviet Union and its allies on the Subsaharan African scene--their "return" or their actual entry if we discount their timid attempts in the 1960's, for instance in Guinea...

In fact, the socialist community offers many seductions to the Third World: the USSR is perfectly able to distribute to its satellites or associates means of power they could never obtain on their own; the rudimentary Marxism adopted by many socialist state leaders is a wonderful instrument, if not for analysis, at least for action, and it expresses their nationalistic drives. There remains a basic contradiction: can the socialist community gather Third-World regimes fighting western "imperialism" and, at the same time, impose "limited sovereignty" on its European members? But this contradiction is only potential; for the time being, it is not perceived by Third-World states.

African stakes: it is probably because Africa's mining resources and strategic position are vital to western economies that they represent an essential factor in Soviet policy. Are they implementing an overall plan, a great design to dominate the world? Let us not underestimate the part played by circumstantial factors: if the Soviets gained a foothold in Somalia in 1963 it is due, like their rapprochement with Egypt eight years before, to the conjunction of the national interests of Somalia (which was isolated, forgotten by the West, worried by Ethiopia's power) and the advantages which the Soviets could derive from having access to the Horn of Africa, from a naval base on the Red Sea... We should also not forget the setbacks which the Soviets may have experienced in their penetration of Africa--as elsewhere in the Third World: their sudden failure in Egypt was reproduced in Sudan in 1977, when Soviet experts were expelled, and in Somalia which, seeing the Soviet-Ethiopian rapprochement, denounced the treaty it had signed with the USSR three years earlier.

The presence of Cuba is more spectacular than that of the USSR. In the spring of 1965, Guevara started a nine-month African tour that was to take him to Congo and Guinea, to the bush of Guinea-Bissau and Angola. Excluded from Latin America which was viewed as the geopolitical glacis of the United States, the Cuban regime was to realize its world ambitions in Africa. Its African calling materialized with "Operation Carlotta" in 1975: in Angola, the National Union for [the Total] Independence [of Angola] (UNITA) had the support of South Africa and the [Angolan] National Liberation Front (FNLA) that of Zaire; caught as in a pincer, the Popular Movement for [the] Liberation [of Angola] (MPLA) of Agostinho Neto called on Havana. The massive intervention of Cuban forces--and the U.S. Congress decision to remain idle--ensured the success of the MPLA. In 1977, Cuba gained another military foothold in Ethiopia, on the occasion of the Ogaden conflict, following Somalia's about-turn. More troops settled in Mozambique, in Tanzania, in Congo, in Sierra Leone. Today, Cuba is the leading foreign power on the black continent: one fourth of its army is in Africa. Is it acting as Moscow's "mercenary"? It seems that the decision to intervene in Angola was made by the Cubans themselves, while their participation in the Ogaden campaign would have been inspired by the Soviet Union... Relations between Moscow and Havana remain complex: Cuba is closely dependent on the USSR for its logistics; but the very fact that it is present in Africa as a representative of the socialist bloc gives Castro's regime a certain margin of political autonomy with respect to Moscow.

Considering that Africa has become one of the sites of East-West confrontation, two responses are conceivable. Should we give priority to reducing the danger of political destabilization? Africa's institutional fragility and demographic vacuum will naturally attract external forces--extra-African agreements will be multiplied, foreign interventions provoked, a treaty-mania spiral entered into. Should we privilege the danger of seeing the African territory used by the great powers for planet-scale military purposes? Denuclearization, demilitarization, neutralization then appear to be solutions that should be considered.¹ The Tlatelolco treaty experiment will be invoked, slogans like "Indian Ocean--zone of peace" will be considered for Africa, a self-limitation of the great powers, a new "Guam doctrine" for Africa dreamt up...

How can we prevent the political destabilization of the black continent? This concern is present in the overall security policy defined by the Reagan Administration: the defense of the United States is perceived to be tied to the political and strategic evolution of many peripheral zones--Africa and Latin America being identified as the sixth geographic sector where "vital" U.S. interests are at stake. A similar inspiration--but in a western community, not in a unilateral U.S. context--is apparent in the report of four western foreign policy institutes on "The Security of the West": the report gives special attention to "peripheral" threats arising in the Third World; a permanent structure of concertation is recommended. Nevertheless, it is regrettable that certain southern European nations were left aside, although some of them are more qualified to deal with Third-World conflicts than, for instance, the FRG or Japan. It has also been said that a complementarity of policies--not a mechanistic complementarity of means--would

make it possible to take better advantage of the density of the West and to bring the "historical capital" of each nation to fruition (which is especially obvious in the case of French ties with Africa). All the same, the existence of a permanent concertation structure that would publicly demonstrate western solidarity would prevent any miscalculation on the part of the Soviet Union and, at the same time, the development of serious crises.

Should we privilege the danger of seeing the African territory used by the great powers for planet-scale military purposes? A first manifestation of "restraint" on the part of the great powers could consist in signing an agreement on the limitation of traditional arms transfers to Africa.² It would have two advantages: arms sales have a political as well as a military significance; if they were regulated, certain "political patronage" relations which are based on arms sales only could be broken; since the overarmament of certain African states results in the militarization of regimes and societies--as over-equipped armed forces, some of which are supervised by foreign advisers, will have a tendency to confuse the protection of the national territory with the repression of domestic social movements--a contractual limitation of arms transfers could stabilize many national political situations. Such a negotiation between the main supplier states could only be progressive and informal, its objective being the preparation of a behavior code more similar to the London Agreements signed in 1975 by nuclear equipment exporting countries than to a traditional treaty. But how could such a process be started? By virtue of example, by adopting unilateral measures? The U.S. restraint in the Angolan case made the Cuban breakthrough possible. Through mutually agreeable limitations? The Soviets may think they have no more favorable confrontation "site" than Subsaharan Africa--thanks to their determined struggle for the adoption of majority rule in southern Africa, their attacks on neocolonialism, their long-time support to national liberation movements. Yet, other reasons may incite the Soviets to moderation: the precarity of the influence gained through arms sales (Somalia, receiving military assistance from Moscow, launched the conquest of Ethiopia at a time when the USSR was attempting to develop its relations with Addis-Ababa); the "escalation" resulting from increased determination in the West (the Reagan Administration openly supports UNITA guerrillas in Angola, but Cuba has reached the extreme limit of its foreign intervention potential). Already, the failure of the OAU Tripoli summit in August 1982 has revealed the decline of the Soviet and Libyan influences in the face of a more determined U.S. commitment. Therefore, the--contractual--limitation of the great powers' action would, dialectically speaking, involve a new balancing of East and West interventions.

African Nonalignment Supported by Nuclear Weapons?

The aggravation of East-West confrontation in the Third World, by accentuating the insecurity of local states, could create in some of the leaders involved a diplomatic and strategic urge: to gain access to nuclear weapons, a guarantee of absolute security, the only way of transforming stake territories into "sanctuaries"--at the very moment when the failure of arms control procedures and the renewed increase in the superpowers' nuclear arsenals remove all moral obstacles to such an ambition. In this context, we can

understand the plea of African experts of the new generation for a nonalignment supported by nuclear weapons. That theory was introduced in the spring of 1980 by the Tanzanian Ali Mazrui, in the journal of the London International Institute for Strategic Studies; it was taken up again in March 1982 by the director of the International Relations Institute of Cameroon, Mr Owona: African countries must stop seeing their continent as a denuclearized zone; renunciation to the nuclear weapon does not guarantee Africa's security; there is no security without nuclear dissuasion.

According to these African experts, a small nuclear capacity should first be developed in Nigeria, then in Zaire. South Africa being expected to be ruled by its black majority before the end of the century, it would then be possible to establish a triumvirate in which the South African nuclear force would play a major role. Technically, it is a fact that South Africa is already an unofficial member of the nuclear club, while Nigeria and Zaire are considered to be "potential proliferators" for after 1980 [as published]. Politically, the idea of a consortium is reassuring: it implies that an attempt will be made to achieve true continental security, the grip of foreign influences relaxed--and that there will be no dangerous deviation toward intra-African nuclear conflicts as a result of the political instability of certain of the regimes involved, the lack of a common rationality between implacable enemies in a certain part of the continent...³

Yet, the theory of African nuclearization gives rise to two questions:

- It implies the preliminary realization of continental unity: will the progress toward the realization of a nuclear consortium serve as an incentive, a catalyst for the political unification of Africa? Or will it merely bring about a collegial imperialism, a continental condominium?
- It implies that a solution to the South African question is found. But will the South African Republic accept without reacting the end of its unofficial monopoly, the constitution of nuclear forces among its potential enemies? Will it not be tempted to wipe out the emerging potential, using either traditional or nuclear means--as Israel did with its raid in Irak in 1981, and as the USSR almost did in China in 1969?

Let us keep in mind the aspiration to an African identity, to an Africa of the Africans, to a Monroe doctrine for Africa. Are times so harsh that this doctrine could rest only on the nuclear fiat?

FOOTNOTES

1. See A. Meininger's report to the symposium on Collective Security in Africa, Paris-South Faculty of Law, March 1981.
2. Andrew Pierre, "The global politics of arms sales," Princeton University Press, 1982 pp 285 and following.
3. See Pierre Lellouche in DEFENSE NATIONALE, July 1982 pp 37 and following.

EDITORIAL REPORT ON FRONTLINE MEETING

PM081216 [Editorial report] Lisbon AVANTE in Portuguese 31 March 1983 carries on page 13 of its supplement three unattributed interviews pegged to the frontline conference in Lisbon: With African National Congress [ANC] Chairman Oliver Tambo (500 words), ANC Foreign Affairs Representative to the United Nations Mfanafuthi Makatini (1,000 words) and Mozambique Foreign Minister Joaquim Chissano (500 words).

Tambo emphasizes the frontline states' need for international support and the opportunity provided by the conference for them to present their role to the world public.

Makatini points to "Pretoria's close cooperation with Israel at all levels" and to certain "worrying parallels" between the two countries' policies. He describes the recent extension of suffrage in South Africa as a "maneuver" designed to "facilitate external aid, particularly from the Reagan administration." He praises the frontline states' "resistance to blackmail" in which "U.S. 'aid' would be exchanged for a withdrawal of backing for the South West African People's Organization and the ANC."

Chissano discusses preparations for the Mozambique Liberation Front Congress starting later in April. Among "positive elements" emerging from the preparations he lists "the people's involvement, the solution of specific problems and health criticism of the party and state leadership with a view to correcting errors."

CS0: 3400/1135

UNITA WARNS FOREIGNERS OF DANGER, STEPS UP CAMPAIGN

Lisbon TEMPO in Portuguese 17 Feb 83 pp 24-25

[Text] UNITA, the opposition movement to the MPLA government in Angola, has recently distributed a communique explaining for the general public its position on foreigners' entering war zones, i.e., the provinces of Kunene, Huila, Kuando-Kubango, Mocamedes, Benguela, Huambo, Bie, Moxico, Lunda, Malanje, Kuanza-Sul, Kuanza-Norte and Uige, areas where Jonas Savimbi's movement guarantees freedom of worship and religion and the right of religious personnel, as well as persons from any humanitarian institutions, to move freely.

Savimbi Warns: It is Useless to Negotiate on UNITA

According to UNITA, these guarantees are no longer valid when religious workers or personnel from humanitarian organizations are in areas occupied by the Organization for People's Defense or by members of FAPLA [People's Armed Forces for the Liberation of Angola] (the militant wing of the MPLA) or by Cubans, or if they travel in military vehicles or are escorted by the military.

However, UNITA guarantees contacts through its regional command posts to prevent private automobiles from being attacked when they are carrying civilians.

According to the communique, the movement headed by Jonas Savimbi is going to be intensifying its political and military campaign against the Cuban and Soviet presence in Angola in the next few months. "UNITA has the organization, strength and means to carry out its campaign. Whoever is interested in solving southern Africa's problems, and especially in the withdrawal of the Cubans and the independence of Namibia, should espouse UNITA's cause, because without its assistance, no real cease-fire along the border between Namibia and Angola is possible. It is useless to negotiate with UNITA," the communique warned.

The paper goes on to confirm the party's position in favor of peace in Angola, the independence of Namibia and stability in southern Africa, which are dependent on the total and unconditional withdrawal of Cuban forces, estimated at about 40,000 men, and their replacement by other foreign troops. It also advocates the formation of a National Unity Government representing the heartfelt aspirations of the Angolan people, the reconciliation of the entire Angolan family whether within or outside the country, and finally, establishing relations of friendship and cooperation with all of Angola's neighbors, so as to find a just solution to the problem of the former Southwest Africa.

The communique also confirms the death of three priests, one of whom was Swiss, during the attack on a column of 13 vehicles, 10 of which were military vehicles transporting Cuban soldiers.

The attack took place near Issolo, Caimbambo in Benguela province, and other religious personnel of both sexes, who were travelling with the convoy, were set free after being given first aid.

During the attack, 11 Cubans and 41 FAPLA soldiers died and 6 government soldiers and one Portuguese citizen, Alberto dos Santos Neves from Tras-os-Montes, were captured.

Ten Different Areas Attacked in a Single Day

The latest communique shows that UNITA is intensifying its fighting, inflicting serious setbacks to government troops and increasingly blocking access to various cities in the territory, which can only be reached by air, and even that with some difficulty.

The most recent news received from Angola reports that Jonas Savimbi's group acted almost simultaneously--an unprecedented event--in 10 different places far from each other, covering virtually the entire country, and making the Luanda government's activities increasingly difficult. Cangonga in Moxico, Alto Hama in Huambo, Evale in Novo Redondo, Kavungo at several kilometers from Luso, Serra do Pundo in Benguela, Matete at 45 kilometers from Malanje, Basoko in Cubal, Nharea in Bie, Conda in Kuanza-Sul and Luassinga between Longa and Menongue were the targets of attacks from the opposition movement. Besides causing considerable damage, 99 Cubans and 107 FAPLAS soldiers were killed and a further 27 captured, and important war materiel was destroyed or captured in the attacks which were planned to "test the ability to organize and coordinate fighting in different provinces" on the same day.

According to UNITA, 17 of their men died and 32 were wounded during these attacks.

They indicated that most of these actions included attacks on and the destruction of locomotives and railway cars on the Benguela-Malanje line, both considered sensitive spots, and attacks on military troops stationed in or moving from one place to the other.

9805

CSO: 3442/147

MEDIA CHANGES TONE TOWARD SOUTH AFRICA AFTER NEGOTIATIONS

Porto O PRIMEIRO DE JANEIRO in Portuguese 28 Feb 83 p 2

[Text] For the first time since Angola's independence in 1975, the Angolan media are openly taking up the question of relations with South Africa, observers in Luanda note.

While the tone used in referring to "South African racists" has been very hard up to now, observers point out, statements by the Angolan minister seem to have softened a great deal. Alexandre Rodrigues "Kito" called the informal talks that took place on 23 February in Praia (Cape Verde) with Brande Fourie, S.A. ambassador to Washington and a member of the South African ambassador to with whom he had already met several times, "a cordial meeting."

However, an article distributed yesterday by ANGOP agency expressed the conviction that the South African apartheid regime "had its days numbered."

The South African political regime is a tremendous insult to the basic rights of the black majority, were the words of MacNamara reported yesterday by the Angolan news agency, in reference to the recent meetings between envoys from Luanda and Pretoria.

"It is a mistake to refer to the matter in terms of a cease-fire between the People's Republic of Angola and the Republic of South Africa, as it camouflages the aggressive nature of the military activities against our country. Angola is the victim of the aggression. The aggressor is South Africa, which is using Namibia as a base for its troops," the article went on to report.

Peace is Needed for Reconstruction

Military and diplomatic activities should be combined to achieve our objectives, which are peace along our southern border with an independent Namibia and the internal stability needed for the economic and social reconstruction of the country," were the words of the president of the republic at a people's assembly, as reported yesterday.

The article was published one day after the Angolan minister of the interior, Alexandre Rodrigues, confirmed that the country would like to feel "a greater solidarity" with all of Africa in support of the struggle for freedom taking place in the southern part of the continent.

It is here in this region, according to Alexandre Rodrigues, where "the most burning problems" of all of Africa are found.

Angola's Good Will

Repeating that Angola had never been the aggressor against South Africa, and that Luanda "will not beg peace" and will not give up because of a difficult internal economic and military situation, the Angolan minister struck the keynote of "his government's good will" to restore peace to the region. Alexandre Rodrigues likewise clearly set forth Angola's objectives, i.e., to find a way to obtain a truce or a cease-fire with South Africa.

Whatever the outcome of future talks with Pretoria, already announced by the Angolan Minister, Angolan leaders have decided to inform the public of these delicate negotiations, which had been totally secret up to now. Last week only "a possible resumption of the talks" was announced in a short communique.

Finally, observers in the Angolan capital point out that in bringing the press in, the Angolan leaders may in this way put an end to speculations in the Western press which have been denounced already several times, and gain support for its arguments internationally, something that Pretoria has never failed to do, making wide use of the principle of "leaks."

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CSO: 3442/147

PROSECUTION'S FINAL STATEMENT AT BOMBERS' TRIAL

MB061045 Luanda Domestic Service in Portuguese 0500 GMT 6 Apr 83

[Text] In the wake of the trial of the 27 bombers that has been going on for 9 days at (Sumbe) Town, Cuanza Sul Province, Lt Col (Simao Cafuche), the prosecutor of the People's Revolutionary Tribunal, in his final statement yesterday asked for the sentences provided for by the 55th Article of the Penal Code in force for the 12 bombers. The defendants are (Tomas Pinto Vidro), (Carmona Muhongo), (Domingos Caso Mutamba), (Constantino Cahanga), (Francisco Capungo Mungongo), (Benjamin Carvalho), Vasco Diquelile), (Constantino Chitue), (Eduardo Bulica), (Augusto Oliveira Catombu), (Joaquim Tomas) and (Alfredo da Silva Ribeiro). In terms of the 55th Article they face possible jail terms ranging from 20 to 24 years or the penalty of death by firing squad.

As for the accused (Assiz Pedro Tibeiro), (Francisco Rodrigues Tenernte), (Joao Cambel9 Mambelo), (Joaquim Ernesto Horacio Sote) and (Jose Sadinha), Lt Col (Cafuche) said that the tribunal should mete out justice in accordance with the seriousness of the crimes of each one of them, in view of their only slight involvement in terrorist actions. As for the remaining defendants, the prosecutor for their acquittal.

The trial will continue on Thursday with the passing of sentences, which will be done by (Adolfo Joao Pedro), the presiding judge of the People's Revolutionary Tribunal. The tribunal consists of presiding Judges (Manuel Bentos) and (Orlando Rodrigues), and three defense lawyers.

CSO: 3442/180

COURSE STRESSES POLITICAL WORK IN DEFENSE FORCES

MB061204 Luanda Domestic Service in Portuguese 0500 GMT 6 Apr 83

[Text] Lt Col (Francisco Magalhaes Paiva Mvunda), the chief of the National Political Directorate of the People's Armed Forces for the Liberation of Angola, stressed the ever growing importance of political work within the defense and security forces as a powerful means of achieving victory over the enemies of our revolution. Speaking in Luanda at the closing session of the sixth course of political workers for defense and security, which was held at the Commander (Jika) Political and Military School, Lt Col (Mvunda) pointed out the hard tasks faced by the political workers in the formation of the new man in the new army. War is a science, and for that reason we must study more and study it better, Lt Col (Mvunda) said.

During the course, which was attended by 157 students, 131 of whom obtained good results, 28 second lieutenants, 40 lieutenants, and 14 cadet officers received their commissions. They were given background on various military subjects.

CSO: 3442/180

PAULO JORGE, ANC'S TAMBO VIEW NAMIBIAN ISSUE

PM110940 Algiers EL MOUDJAHID in French 30 Mar 83 p 16

[Interview with Angolan Foreign Minister Paulo Jorge and African National Congress Chairman Oliver Tambo by Ammar Belhimer in Lisbon--date not given]

[Text] [Question] The recent Angolan-South African negotiations in Cape Verde prompted conflicting commentaries. They led many newspapers to speculate, especially on two points: SWAPO's future and the MPLA's internal situation. What are the facts?

Paulo Jorge: It is absolutely normal, and we are accustomed to some sections of the Western press trying to distort the situation and also speculating. The truth about the second meeting with South Africa is that its delegation arrived with a much lower level of representation than ours.

We think that it did not have an adequate mandate to tackle some specific practical aspects of the questions on the agenda.

The South African side tried to justify that by claiming that SWAPO had launched a series of operations inside Namibia under the Angolan authorities' responsibility. That was merely a pretext because SWAPO's operations--the South African press itself confirmed this--took place near Windhoek, the capital, and it is not the Angolan government which is leading SWAPO or the Namibian people's armed struggle.

The South Africans have also forgotten that the southern part of Angolan territory is still occupied. It is usually there that SWAPO crosses to supply its force in the interior.

So we are waiting for the South Africans to inform us that they are ready for the third meeting and reveal the level at which they intend to participate in it.

Our participation in these talks has been decided by the MPLA-Labor Party Central Committee. Nobody opposed it.

[Question] Little is known about the latest Angolan-American meeting in Paris which followed the visit by a U.S. delegation to Luanda a few months ago. What is the objective sought?

Paulo Jorge: Since the bilateral talks began we have constantly concentrated on two questions:

--The search for ways and means of solving the Namibian problem in that the United States is a member of the contact group and Angola and the frontline countries are suffering the consequences of the conflict directly.

--The possibility of a normalization of bilateral relations between the United States and the People's Republic of Angola.

This is what has been discussed at every meeting since early 1982.

There are still no tangible results owing to the U.S. obsession and obstinacy, both in relation to the contact group within which it is trying to introduce "linkage" at all costs, and with regard to the normalization of bilateral relations, which it is also making dependent on the question of the Cuban forces in Angola.

"Linkage" is ridiculous and, consequently unacceptable because in the final analysis it is crude interference in our internal affairs.

It is also unacceptable for preconditions to be posed for the normalization of bilateral relations. The establishment of diplomatic relations between the People's Republic of Angola and any country in the world must be based on the universal principles which govern international relations.

[Question] The racist Pretoria regime is trying to make people believe that the ANC can no longer carry out actions from inside the country. What is the political and military situation in South Africa?

Oliver Tambo: First, this allegation is the sign of an aggression being prepared. Indeed, the racists are preparing the ground for an attack on the neighboring countries accused of serving as bases for the ANC and intended to facilitate attacks from abroad. They are obviously not right when they say that the ANC is incapable of waging the struggle within the country. If that were the case Pretoria would have no reason for invading Lesotho, threatening Swaziland and Mozambique and demanding the ANC's departure, as it is doing.

Second, it is useful to recall the statements made by the racist defense minister himself when he admitted last year that the ANC was waging a large-scale local war. The ANC is indeed waging a broad struggle inside the country.

He even went further when he admitted that he was incapable of countering this type of operation merely by using the security forces and that it was necessary to organize the whole white population into a military force--and moreover that is what is being done. He went even further in his admissions when he said that even this would not enable Pretoria to end the ANC operations. At present he is waging a whole campaign to win the black population's support. For instance, the racist regime has offered the right to

vote to two ethnic groups forming part of the black population so as to be able to mobilize into military service and set them against the national liberation movement.

This is by way of saying that, if the ANC had been weakened, the racists would not be resorting to all these tricks.

[Question] The West is granting the apartheid regime one reprieve after another and is refusing to back the UN decision calling for a freeze on trade with it. It also thinks it can still bend the current apartheid policy, bringing Pretoria to adopt reforms likely to democratize it. What do you think of this approach?

Oliver Tambo: That is a tactical pretext to preserve a status quo which is procuring enormous economic advantages for the West. Documents condemning South African and its apartheid policy have been adopted at all international meetings every year for the past 35 years.

People have even gone further and told it that its practices constitute "a crime against humanity." There is no doubt that international public opinion and the international community, including its friends, are opposed to the apartheid policy.

While joining the condemnation of apartheid in words, Pretoria's friends are still profiting from the situation, selling it arms and earning fabulous sums. They therefore need this regime.

So why should they exert pressure on it? Can there be pressures if they reduce profits?

What is the contact group doing, for example? It is trying to take over the Namibian question from the United Nations. The result is that the Republic of South Africa has enjoyed another 5 years of occupation of Namibia.

The Western countries have never really wanted change. All that concerns them is how to preserve their interests.

Only SWAPO, the ANC and the frontline states can exert pressures on South Africa by armed struggle.

[Question] What is your assessment of Pretoria's diplomatic initiatives toward the frontline states? Can anything be expected of it?

Oliver Tambo: This is a decision taken by our comrades on the basis of a profound analysis of the situation.

Those are deliberate tactics.

However, it is impossible to be sure of anything, since we are dealing with a fascist, racist, expansionist regime with imperialist ambitions in the region.

That is why Pretoria stops the negotiations at each appropriate moment after gaining tactical positions.

UNITA RADIO REPORTS 15 MARCH-2 APRIL OPERATIONS

MB081749 (Clandestine) Voice of Resistance of the Black Cockerel in Portuguese to Angola 0430 GMT 8 Apr 83

[UNITA Radio: "Report on the Country's Political and Military Situation" issued by the Operations Room of the Strategic Operational Command--date not given]

[Text] The Armed Forces for the Liberation of Angola [FALA], expression of power of our people's frustration; FALA, the giant, FALA on the attack. The struggle triumphs. Words can neither explain victories nor justify defeats. Facts speak for themselves, said Comrade President Gen Dr Jonas Malheiro Savimbi, FALA's Supreme Commander.

After the great success achieved at Alto Catumbela, FALA continues to implement the operational program under the leadership of comrade supreme commander. Thus, during the last 15 days of March, a number of operations were launched, of which we mention the following:

On 15 March glorious FALA attacked the (Vilavi) post. The enemy suffered 26 confirmed casualties among the People's Armed Forces for the Liberation of Angola [FAPLA] and the People's Defense Organization [ODP]. Seven AK-47s, 20 Russian mausers, 1 60-mm mortar, 1 RPG-7, 7 G-3s, 2 pistols, 120 head of cattle, 90,000 cuanzas in currency, and assorted ammunition were captured.

On 18 March glorious FALA attacked an enemy column traveling from (Cueio) to Caiundo. Twelve FAPLA members, including the column's commander, were found dead at the spot. Ten AK-47s, 2 RPG-7s, 1 60-mm mortar, 14 mausers, 14 RPG-7 shells, and 1 field radio were captured.

On 20 March UNITA forces attacked a 17-vehicle column carrying Cuban and Angolan forces. After 50 minutes of intense firing the enemy was put to flight. All vehicles were destroyed. Twelve Cubans and 39 FAPLA men, including 20 state security members and 15 Angolan border guards troops, were found dead at the spot. Captured were 34 Czechoslovak AK's, 2 75-mm cannon, 3 82-mm mortars, 4 (BKM's), 12 AK-47s, 16 G-3s, 25 PPSH's, 2 very pistols, 120 defensive hand grenades, 2 radio transmitters, 57 pairs of leather boots, 20 pairs of canvas boots, 160 uniform shirts, 140 trousers, and 200 T-shirts. Three FAPLA members, (Rodrigues dos Santos), (Antonio Sao Paulo) and (Alberto David), were all captured. We suffered two lightly wounded.

On 23 March 1983 UNITA forces attacked the (Savitangaela) enemy position. The enemy suffered 30 casualties, including the political commissar. Captured were 33 AK-47s, 17 (tuga) mausers, 29 Russian mausers, 2 60-mm mortars, 1 RPG-7, 19 60-mm mortar shells, 4 radio receivers and 28 head of cattle. A total of 393 civilians were released after a public gathering was held.

On 23 March 1983 FALA attacked the Quingenge position and took it by storm. After 40 minutes of intense fire the enemy retreated in disarray. A total of 39 FAPLA members, including the unit commander, 20 ODP men, 7 policemen, and 4 white Portuguese nationals were found there. Two B-10 cannon, 3 82-mm mortars, 4 RPG-7s, 2 60-mm mortars, 4 RPD's, 3 HK-31's, 37 Czechoslovak AK's, 20 AK-47s, 17 G-3s, 8 FN's, 11 (tuga) mausers, 40,700 rounds of assorted ammunition, 16 boxes with assorted shells, 670,000 cuanzas, and few uniforms were captured. Eighteen vehicles and 1 AT-L were burned. The railway station and the gasoline stations were destroyed.

After the attack glorious FALA held a meeting with the local population.

On the same day FALA forces burned seven vehicles on the Menonguebie Road, 3 km from Cachingues. Twenty FAPLA members, including 3 whites of unidentified nationality, were found dead at the spot. Items captured were 15 Czechoslovak AK's, 2 82-mm mortars, 1 B-10 cannon, 1 radio transmitter, 13 boxes with assorted shells, 2 cameras, and some equipment and food rations.

On 22 March 1983 FALA forces destroyed three vehicles on the road between Huambo and Lubango, in the (N'gola-Vila Branca) section. Thirteen FAPLA soldiers, 3 Cubans and 4 members of the so-called state security were killed. Items captured were 10 AKM's, 1 82-mm mortar, 2 60-mm mortars, 2 RPG-7s, 2 RPD's, 1 (PKM), 2 (FVD's), 2 HK21s, and 1 radio transmitter. Ten FAPLA members, including a driver and an electrician, were also captured.

On 23 March 1983 the FALA giants attacked and destroyed a bus, registration number AAL-7231, which was traveling from Lobito to Huambo, in the (Gibipa)-Huambo section. FAPLA suffered 53 confirmed dead, including 12 Portuguese and 7 police members. Captured were 30 AKM's, 10 G-3's, 4 RPG-7s, 4 boxes of 7.62 PS ammunition, 2 boxes with 7.62 normal ammunition, 190,000 cuanzas, 7 watches, 14 field radios and some uniforms.

On 28 March FALA attacked enemy forces who were protecting the bridge over the Cutato River on the Calucinga-Andulo Road. In our punitive action FAPLA lost 34 men, and the ODP lost 18. Our forces captured 1 82-mm mortar, 56 AK-47s, 2 RPG-7s, 1 RPG-2, 2 60-mm mortars, 2 grenade launchers, 3 (PKM's) 12 boxes with assorted ammunition, and assorted equipment. Two IFA vehicles and one land rover were burned.

On the 2d and as a supplement to the first 2 weeks of March, FALA's regular battalion detected and then engaged an enemy battalion, which was totally destroyed. The enemy battalion, supported by a Cuban platoon, was traveling from Cuito Cuanavale. After 30 minutes of intense firing the villains in the pay of the late Brezhnev were put out of action and suffered 89 confirmed dead, including 7 Cubans. Captured were 48 AK-47s, 1 82-mm mortar, 3 RPG-7s,

2 60-mm mortars, 12 FN's 3 grenade launchers, 3 RPD's, 2 radio transmitters, assorted equipment and 2 binoculars.

The fatherland is not negotiable. It is to be defended.

Menongue--point of departure. Luanda--point of arrival.

FALA, expression and power of our people's frustration. FALA, giant; FALA on the attack.

Kafundanga is an example to follow.

Only united around Comrade President General Savimbi, FALA's supreme commander, will we win.

[Signed] Operations Room of the Strategic Operational Command, COPE.

CSO: 3442/186

BRIEFS

CRUDE EXPORTS TO BRAZIL—Angolan Planning Minister Lopo do Nascimento arrived in Brasilia last Monday for a series of talks aimed at increasing commercial relations between Angola and Brazil. The Angolan minister, who is accompanied notably by (Antonio da Silva), the deputy governor of the National Bank of Angola, was received by Brazilian foreign trade officials. Angola, whose crude exports to Brazil total about 10,000 barrels a day, wishes to increase the quantity to 20,000 barrels. The issue will be discussed by the two delegations. [Text] [AB061206 Luanda Domestic Service in French 1100 GMT 6 Apr 83]

CSO: 3419/747

CONNECTION BETWEEN PETROLEUM, FIRST FIVE-YEAR PLAN STRESSED

Paris LE MONDE in French 13-14 Mar 83 pp 11, 12

/Article by Michel Boyer: "Cuts in the Congo's First Five-Year Plan"/

/Excerpt/ As a new petroleum-producing country, the Congo is concerned about the consequences of the decline in crude oil prices on its first Five-Year Plan for 1982-1986. While considering the cuts to be examined during a meeting of the Central Committee of the Congolese Labor Party at the end of March/beginning of April, the Congo's leaders intend to increase petroleum production to compensate in part for the drop in international prices.

In the Congo, petroleum and the plan are linked to one another just like the Congo's flag with the crossed hoe and hammer on a red background and Elf Congo's blue and red chevron-patterned flag which fly side by side over the industrial center's warehouses.

In this country of 1.5 million which still claims to be Marxist-Leninist, this type of reconciliation might offend some sensibilities; however, the Congo has realistically chosen to base its development on petroleum.

So, it is with concern that its leaders are seeing the price of crude oil decline. However, as it is not a member of OPEC, the Congo--the fourth largest producer in black Africa after Nigeria, Gabon and Angola, with 4.5 million tons produced in 1982--feels free to increase offshore drilling to compensate in part for the losses in profit.

At headquarters which very much have the air of "people's democracy," while his future facilities are being built nearby, the minister of plan, Mr Pierre Moussa, notes that the 1982-1986 Five-Year Plan, the first one, was based on a price of approximately \$ 33 per barrel, with petroleum providing "a little more than half" of the financing. "We are certainly going to experience 2 years of shrinking revenues," he adds.

Taking into consideration the experiences of other countries such as Gabon for example, and also the advice of foreign experts, particularly the French, the Congolese leaders have been prudent enough to design an adjustable plan: every July a financial outline is drawn up for the end of the year in progress

and the next 2 years. This two-year system, Mr Moussa stresses, injects "a certain amount of flexibility into the planning." Furthermore, the Congo is counting on the oil companies, in this case Elf Aquitaine and its Italian partner AGIP /National Italian Oil Company/, to demonstrate some flexibility in the area of taxes. "Companies are tempted to slow down research and development, but the governments do not want to lose on all fronts," comments the minister of plan.

As for the heads of the petroleum companies, particularly Mr Martel, president of Elf Congo (the Congolese government holds 25 percent of the stock), they stress that taxes must be adjusted to actual petroleum prices--they are currently based on \$ 31 per barrel--in order to permit investment, which will reach 375 billion CFA francs* between 1969 and 1983. In particular, the Elf company is studying a steam injection technique to make the oil, which is sometimes heavy and thick, flow better. However, only a price of \$ 40 per barrel would guarantee the profitability of what would be a world first, maintain the petroleum producers.

Whatever the results of the serious negotiations that are currently taking place, sometimes at the very top--Mr Sassou-Nguesso meets with Mr Chalandon on a very regular basis--the fact remains that, as its leaders flatly recognize, the Congo is going to have to make some cuts. Choosing the sacrifices to be made will be at the heart of the important meeting of the Party's Central Committee to be held in Brazzaville.

Opening Up the Back Country

This downward revision has its risks, considering the glorification of the plan--"the present struggle which leads to happiness for the people," stresses a poster with yellow letters on a Russian red background. The reservations of certain party members with regard to an overdependence on petroleum and opening up too much to capitalism must also be taken into consideration. Over a period of about 15 years, many of them were educated in Moscow, of which they perhaps retain some memories.

In any case, the Congolese leaders intend to preserve the "hard core" of the plan, or 700 billion CFA francs out of a total of 1,100 billion for the 5 years. Of course, they realize that they were very ambitious in making infrastructures a priority at the expense of directly productive investments. However, to them it is essential to open up the back country--from which most of the current leaders have come--in order to enable development of the northern regions and to slow down the tremendous rural exodus. At present the two major routes are the Congo-Ocean railroad which links Brazzaville to Pointe-Noire over a distance of 515 kilometers but whose rails are bending under the weight of freight cars loaded with Congolese wood and especially Gabonese manganese, and the waterway, which is slow and dependent on the weather.

* 1 CFA franc = 0.02 French francs

Thus, in the north of the country, above the equator, in Ouessou, the dry season keeps barges at the pier. However, there is no highway to the capital, just a pathway subject to flooding; and it takes a week to make the 900-kilometer trip. Consequently, a new airfield capable of receiving heavy aircraft and a highway passing through the great rainforest are being built. Two French companies are in charge of the projects, Colas and Ducler respectively.

Electrification, water systems, constructing 150 village centers in order to keep the young people in the country and rehabilitating national enterprises which are in extremely poor condition after years of very poor management from the time when experts from the East more or less controlled the country are also part of the core. On the other hand, a project such as the construction of a paper pulp mill which would use wood from eucalyptus trees whose planting has been accelerated is not looked upon as an absolute priority.

Thus, industrial projects would be postponed, for Congolese leaders want to develop the forest (60 percent of their 340,000 square kilometers), "our true wealth" according to Mr Moussa, and are seeking to be selfsufficient in food supplies. This therefore involves promoting agriculture, the "weak link," through opening up the back country--due to a lack of adequate transportation systems, Brazzaville is suffering a shortage of provisions--and through the private sector, cooperatives and foreign aid.

It involves reevaluating food crops other than the "mother cassava" and encouraging stock breeding. It also involves remembering export income crops, such as coffee and cocoa, which had been jeopardized during the 1970's. Methods imported from the East, or even from Cuba, were not successful in the Congo.

Coffee and cocoa production fell from approximately 10,000 tons to around 2,000 tons each. The state farms--except the ones run by the Chinese until their departure--were on the road to ruin. Public agencies could not have been more poorly operated. Following this "ideological" agriculture, it is other foreign experts, most often French, who are helping to turn things around. The story of the sugar cane plantation in Nkayi, a large village in the southern Congo, is edifying in this regard.

The French Imprint

France knows the land the best, the Congolese recognize. "What can the Congo get from the Soviet Union?", explains a presidential adviser. Indeed, the only large hotel which existed in Brazzaville for a long time and which was built by the Soviets closed its doors at the end of January to be taken over by a French chain.

So, the French have returned in force. However, the Congolese leaders seem anxious to lessen petroleum's influence on their economy and to diversify their international relations. In particular, they are counting on an inflow of capital--300 billion had been forecast in the plan--and in April 1982 they revised the investment code.

Will they be able to? Aside from petroleum, the Congo can base its hopes on gass-but at present it would no supply a sufficient quantity to make the project profitable--and on uranium--however, mining would not being for 7 or 8 years at the earliest. At least, this is what the heads of Elf, which is conducting the two operations but which does not want to participate--as Kenya desires--in diversification outside of its areas of specialization, maintain.

The French imprint; influence? Petroleum is still the major factor; if only in guaranteeing repayment of foreign debt amounting to 265 billion CFA francs. In 1981, debt service on this debt represented approximately 20 percent of budget revenue and 28 percent of export revenue, more than 80 percent composed of petroleum revenue (50 percent in 1978). Besides, the Congolese economy began its recovery in 1979, due to the increase in petroleum production and prices. Forecasts are for 5 million tons in 1983 (or 204 billion in revenue for the Congo out of a budget of 388 billion), 6 million in 1984 and 7 to 8 million in 1986.

In the face of this "petrolization" of the country, portraits of Marx, Engels and Lenin are fading in the streets and the Congo's Afrocommunism seems pink rather than red. The country's leaders confirm their desire to build a socialism which takes realities into account and involves the fewest restraints possible. Indeed--except for some nightly military patrols in the capital--a peaceful atmosphere prevails, with no political prisoners and little censorship, while the financial crisis has been overcome, as petroleum has made it possible to pay officials, provide work and initiate projects.

What about vulnerability? Considering the very politically involved and readily critical population, the international economic situation contains the seeds of political and economic destabilization. It is always dangerous to dash hopes. The administration will have to exercise definite authority in order to have a certain amount of austerity accepted. It can probably count on the party mechanism, but it may run into opposition from its hardline wing. In any case, pragmatism should prevail over Marxism.

Petroleum is also a facade. On the other hand, it may result in inflation and speculation and, on the other hand, it may cause debt and austerity. During the inauguration, while the "comrades and distinguished guests" * were taking shelter from a violent downpour under umbrellas in Elf Congo's colors, the regional propaganda representative extolled the "magical and incredible" success of the petroleum company managers. Watch out for magical mirages.

* Including a dozen French journalists who were guests of Elf

EFFORTS TO RESTART SUGAR REFINERY

Paris LE MONDE in French 13-14 Mar 83 p 12

/Text/ In 1968 the Nkayi sugar complex, including a refinery, a mill and an oil mill belonging to the Vilgrain group, produced a record amount of 100,000 tons of sugar. In 1970 the complex was nationalized. In 1978, production fell to 5,700 tons of cane sugar. The refinery ceased operations in 1971.

In 1979, after the complex was broken down into three distinct companies, a recovery program was finalized. Production reached 11,700 tons in 1979; 12,300 tons in 1980; 15,700 tons in 1981 and 28,500 tons in 1982. Taking into account the few export opportunities (Algeria buys 6,000 tons), the goal for 1983 is 40,000 tons. One problem: the Congolese prefer refined sugar which is currently imported from France. Consequently, breweries are the chief domestic market.

In explaining the collapse, aside from overall economic difficulties, the Congolese manager mentions the lack of financing and spare parts. Management was then being provided by Mauritian and Cuban experts. After their departure --no Cubans remain except for one medical mission--an engineering contract was signed with France and the Netherlands. Loans--the program cost 8 billion CPA francs--were found abroad (Central Fund for Economic Cooperation, Bank of Worms, Citibank); harvesting equipment was brought up to date: American tractors, French trucks, German harvesters.

In addition to the discussion of restarting the sugar refinery--a test was conducted at the beginning of February--or building a new mill, diversification is planned: cultivation of corn and soya, and stock breeding in order to attain self-sufficiency in food products. The third largest city in the Congo, Nkayi has 47,000 inhabitants.

At present, the complex, which cultivates 10,000 hectares of sugar cane and employs over 3,000 people, has two Dutch and six French advisers. One of them has returned to Nkayi after 20 years.

9693

CSO: 3419/656

PROJECT TO OVERCOME OUESSO'S ISOLATION

Paris LE MONDE in French 13-14 Mar 83 p 12

/Text/ They speak with a Gascon accent in Ouessou. A firm from Mirande, in the department of Gers, is building the highway which is to link this city on the banks of the Sangha River to Brazzaville. Of course, you can reach the capital by means of this river and then the Congo. If you are not in a hurry: it takes 5 days to go down and 8 to return and the waterway cannot be used during the dry season. There are also five flights per week; but a seat on the airplane costs 20,000 CFA francs.

Ouessou has 14,000 inhabitants, including 2,000 foreigners from neighboring Cameroon or Central Africa and also from Benin and Chad, indicates its mayor, a former SFIO /French Section of the Workers International (French Socialist Party)/ member. The population is aging and the cocoa harvest is declining: 6,000 tons in 1972; 3,500 tons 10 years later. To keep the younger generations here, they are thinking of setting up equipped village centers and launching cooperatives, but above all of overcoming the isolation. The highway should enable timber production to be increased and cocoa production to recover, while it is hoped that the rural exodus will not be accelerated.

The Ducler firm is here to see the project through. It employs 40 Europeans and 400 local workers. The project: some 600 kilometers of asphalt in two lanes, four rivers to cross with 120 to 160-meter bridges, 10 kilometers of metal structure for the small rivers. But, the venture has already begun: the machinery has come from Douala by road and waterway; containers have been shipped from Pointe-Noire via the Congo; the very heavy equipment has arrived via Zaire and the river.

The work begun in 1982 will take more than 5 years and the cost is estimated at 36 billion in 1981 CFA francs, which would be some 50 billion by the end. Too much asphalt? In any case, the road surface is comparable to that of a highway, so as to be able to support the weight of trucks loaded with logs. It takes 6 months for floated timber to reach Brazzaville, with significant losses; it will take 24 hours on the highway. "The Congo must be opened up with the assistance of former colonizers," emphasizes the mayor.

ELF-GABON OFFICIAL EXPLAINS DECLINE IN PETROLEUM OUTPUT

Libreville L'UNION in French 2 Mar 83 p 3

[Letter to the Editor by F. Waura, chief of the information and communication section of the Elf-Gabon Petroleum Company]

[Text] In reply to the article published in L'UNION on 28 February concerning the production of petroleum by Elf-Gabon the chief of the division of information and communications of this company has provided the following information:

Production by Elf-Gabon increased steadily until 1977, when it reached 9,254,579 tons of petroleum (or 28,488 cubic meters per day). Since 1977 production has declined. However, since 1981 it has stabilized at about 6.3 million tons per year (or 2,035 cubic meters per day) [as published].

Production in the Grondin petroleum field also followed this descending curve: 2,631,201 tons in 1977 (8,035 cubic meters per day). By 1982 production amounted to 661,272 tons (2,035 cubic meters per day) [as published].

To check the decline in production in the various fields, Elf-Gabon has undertaken major maintenance work which in 1982 worked out to 24 billion CFA francs. In the case of the Grondin field this substantial maintenance effort made it possible to increase daily production from 1,400 cubic meters in January, 1982, to 3,000 cubic meters in December, 1982.

Therefore, the fall in production is not due, as stated in L'UNION, to the application of OPEC orders but rather to the momentary halt in production from certain wells during the period of major maintenance work.

Elf-Gabon believes it will be able to maintain its present level of production in future years.

5170
CSO: 3419/658

MEAT SHORTAGE SINCE MAY 1981 REPORTED

Libreville L'UNION in French 5-6 Mar 83 p 2

[Article by B. Nkogho-Nsekui: "Woleu-Ntem: In One Year City Meat Supply Will Be More Regular"]

[Text] Since the month of August, 1982, the animal husbandry service in Woleu-Ntem in the northern part of Bitam Province has a new director. He is Samuel Assoumou Mba, controller of livestock, who has replaced Antoine Minko Ella, in this position. Minko Ella had served for nearly 3 years in our area. The close cooperation developed between Minko Ella and the farmers of Ntem Department merited the good reputation which he had in this area. In the words of a farmer in this city, "We are very sorry to see him go." However, the present chief of the animal husbandry service is an "experienced" leader with about 20 years of experience in the animal husbandry sector.

At the time he was assigned to the capital of Ntem Department, Assoumou Mba was returning from a 6-month training program in Egypt. The interview which we had with him covered essentially the health of livestock in the Woleu area in the Ntem Department in the northern part of Bitam Province, at a time when the city meat supply has been facing problems since May, 1981.

For many years the meat supply in Bitam Province was handled by Haoussa Tribesmen, and particularly Baba Toukour, who brought in Zebu, Ndama, and Baoule cattle from Cameroon and from Chad. For this reason there was little consumption of fish in Bitam Province. Beef was very much valued by the people, both in the city and in rural areas. The suspension of this supply system for more than 2 years was a hard blow for the people, who had a hard time getting used to the interruption. Many people cross the border to Cameroon to buy meat. It is said that, from time to time, beef is becoming difficult to obtain.

Imports of meat from Cameroon, which were suspended to permit better care of the livestock there, will be resumed next year. However, this has not stopped Assoumou Mba from thinking already of the establishment of an experimental farm in Bitam Province which could take care of the people's needs for meat.

5170

CSO: 3419/658

BRIEFS

NEED FOR REPLACEMENT OF POLITICAL SCHEMERS, GRAFTERS--Today [3 March] our great national party [Gabonese Democratic Party] will emerge even stronger from the third extraordinary congress. Its role as a driving force of national life will be decisive, and its preeminence over the four institutions of the state will be reaffirmed once again. This extraordinary congress has come to the point this year where people speak of a change of mentality. In fact, despite the resolutions passed by the members at the extraordinary congress in 1979, I see the same old habits continuing: the accumulation of offices in a single person, rowdy activism in the folkloric style, professional incompetence, the 10 percenters who derive their income from several sources. We find the same people in the cabinet, in the political bureau or central committee of the party, presiding over the administrative councils. All of this fully justifies the holding of a congress. I hope that this time the resolutions will be applied, so that the men who are worn out, the schemers, the grafters, and the wire-pullers will leave and let the right man have the right job. [Text] [Libreville L'UNION in French 3 Mar 83 p 1] 5170

MISUSE OF FRENCH, AFFECTATION ON PART OF LEADING LIGHTS--What words were used during the work of our latest extraordinary congress of the party [Gabonese Democratic Party]. The leaders, these people of influence, have given us an example of what should not be done among people of a certain class and of a certain rank in society. After having discussed various drafts among themselves, in substance and in terms of the grammar, they presented a real spectacle before the other people attending the congress. Using scholarly language and pedantic expressions, they quibbled about terms which are well known to everyone. For hours they held the floor and displayed their fatuity. The term "unconstitutional" gave them the opportunity to use their Latin and their writing skills, finally including in the official document a serious but elementary grammatical error. As for me, Makaya, I ask myself at times why our well-known Gabonese scholars always try to impress us with their poor quality French which they have not even been able to master. Like us at home they would do better to look at their pocket dictionaries and review their grammar from time to time. That would be a better way of avoiding ridicule. [Excerpt] [Libreville L'UNION in French 5-6 Mar 83 p 1] 5170

EVILS EATING AWAY AT PARTY DESCRIBED--Today [2 March] our great party [Gabonese Democratic Party] is meeting in an extraordinary congress. Several meetings prepared the way for this great political event: a meeting of the cabinet and meetings of the political bureau and of the central committee. However, I

would like to deal more specifically with the meeting of the political bureau, which has examined the results of the latest elections of secretaries of party sections. People have spoken emphatically of parachuting, of radio control, and other similar terms which certain schemers orchestrated from Libreville by big shots have condemned with a wide influence and facile and demagogic language [as published]. I thought that these practices had been banished forever since we only have one political party and we are now united. As for me, Makaya, I would like to know why these people, despite the denunciations and the resolutions, continue to operate with the most complete impunity. Hasn't our party considered taking action against all these political schemers who work in the shadows and have a personal group of supporters? I hope that today's party congress will provide us with solutions to these serious evils which gnaw away at our party. [Text] [Libreville L'UNION in French 2 Mar 83 p 3] 5170

PRESIDENT RECEIVES KUWAITI DELEGATION--A Kuwaiti delegation led by the minister of Islamic affairs has been in Libreville since Wednesday to discuss the strengthening of cooperation ties with Gabon. Yesterday morning the delegation was received by Foreign Minister Martin Bongo. In the afternoon the delegation (?paid a visit) to the Renovation Palace where it was received by President Omar Bongo. (?This visit to Libreville) gave the two parties the opportunity to strengthen the fruitful cooperation existing between the two countries. At international level, both countries are OPEC members. The Kuwaiti delegation will end its visit on 10 April after touring the interior. [Text] [AB080845 Libreville Domestic Service in French 0600 GMT 8 Apr 83]

CSO: 3419/742

U.S. SAID TO BACK ANTIPOPULAR GOVERNMENT IN EL SALVADOR

Station Cites Repression, Genocide

AB111104 Accra Domestic Service in English 1410 GMT 10 Apr 83

["Let the People Know" program: "Liberation Struggle in El Salvador"]

[Text] In the small Central American country of El Salvador, security forces of the ruling rightwing regime are engaged in acts of repression and genocide against the mass of the people and those struggling for the liberation of the country on a day to day basis. The present unpopular regime of El Salvador, like its predecessors backed by the United States, is committing the most atrocious of crimes in efforts to stem the tide of popular rebellion and an imminent victory of the liberation forces. The stories of brutalities, torture and murder from that country are simply horrifying. Independent witnesses from the Western mass media, churches, international human rights organizations and the United Nations have all testified on the state of mass repression and death in El Salvador. At the same time, the forces of liberation, under the leadership of the Farabundo Marti National Liberation Front, FMLN, and the Democratic Revolutionary Front, FDR, have intensified their efforts in the mass struggle and the liberation war to achieve a decisive victory for the Salvadoran people. Their aims basically are to free El Salvador from the autocratic grip, domination and exploitation of imperialism in league with the internal bankrupt oligarchy, a small group of very rich and corrupt elite class, to reorganize the social life of the country along more democratic lines and effect advancement in the material and spiritual life of the people.

The liberation struggle in El Salvador can be more fully appreciated with the knowledge of the history, status and prevailing social conditions of the country. In that connection, it must be pointed out that El Salvador is a neo colonial country and therefore part of that portion of the world dominated by imperialism. Like most Third World nations, the country is producer of a limited number of primary products, with coffee alone accounting for about 45 percent of the annual foreign exchange earnings. The big industries which produce chemicals, textiles, pharmaceuticals and refined petroleum are either owned directly by big foreign investors from the United States, West Germany, Britain and Japan or are joint ventures between the few rich Salvadorans and the transnational corporations or other foreign firms.

Some of the transnationals operating in El Salvador include Unilever, which owns the United African Company group of companies in Ghana; the British-American Tobacco Company, whose subsidiary is the Pioneer Tobacco Company here; Exxon, the powerful oil company; and Pfizer, the manufacture of drugs

In El Salvador, a small group of rich families commonly referred to as the 14 families own the vast body of land, control the export of agriculture from the large plantations and also possess a strong foothold in other sectors of the economy. Until the recent land reforms, which in any case affected only a small portion of the land, it was estimated that only two percent of the population owned about 60 percent of all land, the principal means of livelihood in the country. This situation gives control over the political machinery to minority, a situation which continues. The combination of grossly unequal and unjust internal economic and political relations on one hand and the domination of foreign interests and the transnationals on the other hand resulted in the very low standard of living, dictatorship and repression for the mass of Salvadoran people. Since 1932, after a coup d'etat and a bloody repression of a popular revolt in which 30,000 people were massacred or shot, El Salvador has been ruled by a succession of military juntas on behalf of the small group of rich families and their hangers on. The military juntas and their civilian partners have already been very repressive and strong collaborators with foreign interests in the exploitation of the mass of their countrymen.

In the 1960's a political movement known as the Christian Democracy developed as an opposition to the land owners. This movement was led principally by the middle classes--lawyers, doctors and engineers. The leader of the Christian Democrats, Jose Napoleon Duarte, became the mayor of the capital of El Salvador in 1964. But after a period in exile, from 1972 to 1979, Napoleon Duarte ceased being progressive or even moderate and chose the side of the oligarchy against the ordinary people. Meanwhile, a number of radical groups, popular and militant organizations of the people, were coming up. By May 1980, these organizations had come together under the umbrella of a new and unified body known as the FDR, with the FMLN as its military wing. These organizations are presently leading the struggle for liberation in the Central American country.

Over the years, the United States has been the major supporter of all the repressive regimes that have ruled El Salvador. Disregarding the real demands and desires of the mass of the people and their struggle for social change consecutively, U.S. administrations have been providing the repressive regimes of the country with political support and military and economic aid. Since the Reagan administration came into power, the political and military support has been stepped up. Last year, a so-called general election, which was found to be a sham one given the political situation in the country, was held in an attempt to seek legitimacy for the ruling groups of El Salvador and to deceive the world. The election was won by the extreme right wing, the National Republican Alliance, led by Roberto D'Aubuisson. The Reagan administration, inspite of the horrifying evidence of repression and genocide, has gone ahead to present a certification of human rights in El Salvador to the regime in order to continue to provide military aid to

that country. The United States is out not only to protect its direct investments in the country but to prevent the liberation forces of El Salvador from freeing their country from the domination of imperialism and thereby setting another unwanted example to countries in a similar position, as Cuba, Nicaragua, and Grenada have all done. American leaders, under the grip of their domino theory, fear that countries like Honduras, Guatemala and Costa Rica and those of the South American continent as well will follow the path of liberation if the people of El Salvador achieve victory.

A recent edition of NEWSWEEK Magazine, that of 21 March 1983, reveals a comprehensive plan hatched by the United States, under which 10,000 or more troops of the repressive regime of El Salvador are to be set on the liberation forces to search and destroy guerrillas, defeat or drive them away. The plans are said to have social and economic aspects to pacify the people. But few persons will be deceived given the experience of the ruling regimes of El Salvador and the little or no interest that imperialism shows for the welfare of the people.

Only last month, President Reagan asked the U.S. Congress for an additional \$110 million in military aid to the Salvadoran government plus \$67 million in economic assistance. But from all indications, the United States will continue to provide military hardware, vehicles, planes, guns and rockets, training and advice for the repression of the Salvadoran people. Despite all the atrocities of the ruling regime of El Salvador and the support of the United States for it, the liberation forces of the country are making steady advances in the struggle for freedom. The FMLN especially is scoring more victories in the liberation war extending the liberated territories tearing apart the regime forces and demoralizing them. Though the struggle is being carried on under extremely difficult conditions, with the unity of forces, revolutionary commitment, mass support and determination the liberation forces of El Salvador will emerge victorious. The people of Ghana and other countries throughout the world can and must contribute to that struggle through a demonstration of anti-imperialist solidarity.

Salvadorans Seek Anti-U.S. Help

AB100701 Accra Domestic Service in English 0600 GMT 10 Apr 83

[Text] A representative of the General Association of University Students in El Salvador has appealed to the people and government of Ghana to oppose direct U.S. intervention in the civil war raging in that Central American country.

The Salvadorian student leader, Antonio (Heirera), told the solidarity meeting at the Accra Community Center yesterday that the main threat facing the people of El Salvador is possible direct U.S. military intervention in support of the extreme right-wing military junta against nationalist guerrilla forces. Already, the U.S. Government gives political, military and financial support to the junta which is waging an oppressive war against nationalist forces led by the Farabondo Marti National Liberation Front.

Mr (Heirera) told the meeting that since 1981, the junta has closed down the government-owned universities and occupied them with its troops. The universities' libraries were burnt down and furniture and laboratories destroyed. Since then the students and lecturers have been organizing academic activities in rented premises which are frequently attacked by government troops. In spite of the threat of direct U.S. intervention, Mr (Heirera) recounted several victories won by the nationalist forces and emphasized that the people of El Salvador are not going to make even one step backward in their struggle against imperialism. The Salvadorian student leader is on a tour of African countries to seek support for the liberation struggle of the people of El Salvador.

The solidarity meeting in Accra was organized by the All African Students Union and the National Union of Ghana Students. It was attended by members of the New Democratic Movement, Pan-African Youth Movement, the United Front, Ghana Peace and Solidarity Council and representatives of the Trades Union Congress.

In a joint statement read at the meeting, the organizations called for the stepping up of international solidarity to expose the monstrosity of U.S. imperialism and to isolate the U.S. supported fascist junta in El Salvador. In separate messages, the organizations cited the role of the CIA in Ghana and the activities of the U.S. military adviser in El Salvador as examples of U.S. aggression against small and poor developing countries in the world.

CSO: 3400/1157

'ECHO' SAYS CONTACT GROUP PRETENDS TO NEGOTIATE NAMIBIAN INDEPENDENCE

AB100736 Accra Domestic Service in English 0700 GMT 10 Apr 83

[Press Review]

[Excerpt] The ECHO expresses disappointment at the efforts of the five western contact group to negotiate independence for Namibia. The paper says the plain truth is that the group is made up of the United States, Britain, France, Canada and West Germany, has only been pretending to be conducting the negotiations for there is no reason why there should be any difficulty in granting independence to the territory after the international community has pressed for it. The ECHO says the general view of the nonaligned countries is that the main obstacle to Namibia's independence is the United States which claims to be the greatest democratic state. It wonders why the United States should earn the notoriety of deliberately obstructing the natural desire of a country to be independent if it really believes in democracy. As for the rest of the contact group, the ECHO says they are following the United States just because they are anxious to secure American nuclear protection.

CSO: 3400/1157

FOREIGN MINISTER HAILS UPCOMING OAU SUMMIT

AB071608 Paris AFP in French 1400 GMT 7 Apr 83

[Text] Bissau, 7 Apr (AFP)—Samba Lamine Mane, Guinea-Bissau's foreign affairs minister, hailed the coming OAU Summit Conference scheduled for June in Addis Ababa at a dinner offered in honor of Congolese Minister of Foreign Affairs Pierre Nze, who has been in Bissau since Wednesday.

The holding of this summit will contribute to the cohesiveness of the pan-African organization and corresponds, Mr Mane added, to a historic imperative to which subscribe all African states engaged in the struggle for the total liberation of the African Continent.

Mr Mane felt that the OAU's current difficulties are not unconnected with a destabilization movement aimed at dividing Africa and undermining the African Continent.

He further stressed that the Congolese minister's trip to Bissau is evidence of the excellent relations between the Congo and Guinea-Bissau and that this trip will offer the opportunity to discuss African problems and bilateral co-operation.

In turn, the Congolese foreign minister denounced the apartheid regime in South Africa, reaffirmed his unflinching support for the liberation movements of South Africa and Namibia and for the Saharan people, the PLO and the front-line countries who are victims of acts of aggression as well as for the people of East Timor and Lebanon.

CSO: 3419/743

PRESIDENTIAL SUCCESSION PROBLEMS DISCUSSED

Dakar AFRICA in French Mar 83 pp 23-26

[Article by Louis Guilain: "False Succession Problems"]

[Text] "After the 'Old Man,' the deluge," the enemies of the Ivory Coast and reporters looking for publicity are predicting. These birds of ill omen and prophets of doom will be disappointed. Not only is the "Old Man" still going strong after over 20 years at the head of the state, but his work is very likely to survive him. Indeed, the Ivory Coast is more than ever a country with strong structures where there exists a sincere desire for unity in spite of the diversity of its people.

For many decades, the Ivory Coast has been a favorite target for prophets of doom. Just remember Raymond Cartier's diatribes.

But Cartier was not the only bird of ill omen. We could not even begin to count those who, from 1960 to 1967, considered the industrial explosion to be dangerous and superficial for, they said, it was out of proportion with the local needs and potential export markets. Also, agricultural diversification benefited only the large companies, which disregarded small farmers' interests...

Against all odds, however, the "Ivory" ship stayed its course, loading its cargo of success from port to port.

These people then had to face the evidence and admit that the balance was positive, although they would not go back on their judgment. This was the reason for the pessimism of years past, which does not agree with present results; all they could do was to invoke an unforeseeable intervention, a divine one if possible.

And the Ivorian miracle was born.

Thank god!

Actually, this expression denotes a good deal of natural admiration for the work accomplished, which is truly considerable.

All the same, it also denotes the reaction of fools who had predicted disaster and attributed success to mere luck. They could not admit that what they called a miracle was only the result of a joint effort that had been admirably planned, coordinated and brought to completion through plain ordinary human labor.

Today, newspapers and magazines have forgotten the intervention of the supernatural into Ivorian affairs, and they would be more inclined to talk of "economic conditions," which are poor as expected, if the subject had not become so common all over the world. Now, the Ivory Coast is not going to make do with the common fate and our reporter friends all over the world have finally found a new subject of concern that is Abla Pokou's country's very own.

"What about the President's succession?"

"No successor has been appointed, what is going to happen should he die suddenly?"

"Is not an outburst of tribal conflicts to be expected right after his death?"

When such questions are raised, coffee, cocoa, oil and the deterioration of exchange conditions are relegated to the background, given only relative importance in view of the only subject worthy of attention: the death of the Old Man!

There is something indecent and revolting in this insistence of scribblers to bury Houphouet. Indeed, Houphouet himself is not about to play the dying man; a young minister in his government was telling us recently that he had never been as dazzling in taking initiatives and, he added, his strength of character is equalled only by his physical strength which allows him to get through a lot of work with only a few hours of rest every day.

The Time of the Prophets of Doom

The average Ivorian, and more especially the inhabitant of inland centers, is not much concerned by this problem. He hopes to keep his Old Man for a long time to come and feels that the time has not yet come to give him an understudy.

Since Houphouet is the best, he must remain the sole master. In traditional Africa, authority and the attributes of power are not shared.

Thus, the mass constituency is not ready to follow certain politicians who would like to prepare the post-Houphouet era right now!

To prepare it on what bases?

From Abidjan to Korhogo, from Man to Abengourou, we have not met anyone who could offer the slightest outline of a program of action.

As for the reporter arriving in Port-Bouet, he will insist on following the trail of parlor reformers. As in Dakar and Yaounde, he would like to find in Abidjan a new pole of information in the shape of a new man.

Actually, if such a man is appointed, and we are quite certain that he exists, we can imagine that he would not be enthusiastic at the thought of assuming the formidable honor of ruling in these times of difficulties that can be mastered only by sacrificing popularity.

Tightening the belt until it hurts, dispensing austerity in the kingdom of a defunct prodigality, cancelling administrative leases, laying off people, controlling, punishing, and going from the fatted calf to the lean cows, all this is not very appealing and, things being what they are, President Houphouet-Boigny alone can impose this draconian regime. As long as the storm is raging, he should stay at the helm.

This is the most widespread opinion in the Ivory Coast, no matter what foreign reporters may write. After the storm, it will be time for him to appoint a second in command, as the latter must absolutely start exerting his responsibilities, if not when things are easy, at least when he can be sure of success.

Has the Party No Influence?

Anyhow, the succession will be difficult, by comparison, because of President Houphouet-Boigny's authority and immense prestige.

Another cause for grave concern--and how unbearable--is the chaos to be expected (?) should there be a sudden vacancy of the power...

To consider anarchy in such a manner is to forget the President's work and, therefore, to insult him.

His work is marked first by an elaborate, strong and effective political structure. Thirty higher officials form the political bureau of the PDCI-RAD [African Democratic Rally], and another 9 the Executive Committee. The Managing Committee consists of 100 members and there are 189 general secretaries in the Party subsections.

Would this impressive apparatus be only a negligible quantity? It is not above all reproach, but the relatively recent establishment of true democracy within the single party has brought into the country's life elements that are vital in providing new dynamism. The Old Man is no longer the only factor of unity. In the task which has obsessed him all his life, he is now assisted at all party levels, and these will remain active after their president's last breath.

This truly remarkable organization is not about to promote anarchy, even if the chief of state should die suddenly.

Even assuming such an eventuality would materialize, the army alone would oppose to disorder the peace which it guarantees.

Therefore, it appears that all necessary factors exist in the Ivory Coast to nip in the bud any attempt at destabilization, should the succession become vacant.

No opposition can presume to organize the succession, since there is no opposition. There is no lack of discontent in these difficult times, but it takes more than discontent to cause a revolution.

The "Highest among the High" politicians may fight among themselves but, quite likely, the people will pay vague attention and refrain from getting involved. Besides, a single word from the Old Man, even a posthumous one, would be enough to prevent any attempted rows.

Desire for Unity

The people are passive, they are not indifferent. Indeed, history has taught them the futility of past confrontations and they now appreciate peace.

The Krou who settled in the southwest and center-west of the country harbor no animosity against the Akan (southeast and center-west of the Ivory Coast) although these used to be their implacable enemies. They inflicted a memorable defeat upon them in 1660.

On the other hand, the Krou group is divided among itself. Alone, it consists of 15 ethnic groups, each represented by one or several villages which are often independent from, sometimes even hostile to one another.

In addition, the Krou from the north would have reasons to hate the Mande who, in former times, drove them out of Man, Touba and Seguela. Fortunately, historical vicissitudes have been forgotten, just as have been erased from memory the migrations of the Gouro and the Dan who, in the 16th century, settled between the Akan and southern Mande groups, after being themselves driven out of the north by the Malinke who settled there.

In the north, the Senoufo have fought against the Baoule and the Malinke with whom they are now on good terms.

We could mention many more such examples. The Ivory Coast was a huge battleground, but it would be absurd to believe these conflicts could be revived.

There have been a few bloody incidents in the past 15 years (Bete-Sanwi) but, contrary to what has often been said, tribalism was not or not much involved.

There exists a sincere desire for unity in the Ivory Coast, in spite of the fact that 60 different ethnic groups are living side by side.

This desire is nothing new. For immemorial times, the Ivorians have concluded "alliances" to prevent conflicts (Nana Sem among the Agni, Toukpe among the Akan).

As a result of these alliances, to give an example, a Dida will never confront an Attie and the durability of the agreements concluded is demonstrated by the fact that some are now gaining hold of real estate from the other clan, without any fear of retaliation.

As a result of custom.

Similar agreements were signed between the Baoule and the Abron. It would be interesting to study the density of this network of "alliances." They are known from one border to the other but, by extension, it should be possible to discover the links in a chain that might well cover the whole Ivory Coast.

To the Ivorians, Houphouet-Boigny has given a flag in front of which students in Korhogo, Man or Abengourou are called to meditate every morning, as it rises in their schoolyards.

He has given them a motto with precisely "Union" as the first facet of a triptych.

He has given them a national anthem, the "Abidjanaise," the first bars of which will cause the Ebrie, the Dioula, the Senoufo and the Bete to stand at attention.

One-Day Capitals

We polled a number of Ivorians, asking them pointblank to tell us where they were born. None of them mentioned his native region, but all told us they were born in the Ivory Coast. True, one fourth of the Ivorian population is non-native. As a result, the three fourths who are native certainly feel a strong need to distinguish themselves and to identify themselves geographically, not with respect to other regions, but with respect to other countries.

This reflex would tend to show that the concept of belonging to an ethnic group can give way to a stronger feeling of nationality. Fortunately, the love of the village remains strong in Ivorian land, but it does not conflict with the love of the homeland.

Such is the fruit of long efforts; they should of necessity help in putting together the puzzle of customs.

To materialize it all the better, the Old Man imagined to alternate the celebrations commemorating independence: one year they take place in a town of the north, the following year in the west, then they move to the east.

On "D" day, the whole country is stirred in unison with the town that has been chosen for the celebration. For 24 hours, it becomes the capital, with the powerful assistance of the media. Are not the media themselves the best factors of union, to the point that throughout the country any word

spoken by a reporter or an anchorman becomes as true as the gospel or the Koran? It cannot be challenged by the elders, no matter how much venerated they are.

Religion, a Factor of Union

Religion, too, is a factor of unity. By that, we mean the new, revealed religions. Animism promoted clan unity but, although age groups were not restricted merely to postulants in a single village, they were meant in fact for young people in a single, well-defined region that was unlikely to expand.

Such as the Porro of the Senoufo.

Animism as it was perceived in various points of the Ivory Coast included common factors, such as a single god, but that god would assume 100 different faces from one ethnic group to the other, with 100 different masks.

Christianism, on the other hand, and the religious derived from it, and Islam have brought to the country religious structures that are well-defined and identical, no matter where they are established.

In that, they represented a factor of unity.

Finally, let us not overlook the power of the media, especially radio and television, which play an essential part in the understanding people have of one another and of the geographic regions where they live.

This rapid overview from the point of view of history and religion would tend to prove, if need be, that President Houphouet-Boigny is not the only guarantee of the country's unity.

We are not belittling his merits by saying that, in the task of which he was the indefatigable and genial artisan, he has known how to use past experience in the spirit of the Ivorian tradition.

When he is gone, this experience will form part of our common heritage, and we fail to see how the fear of unidentified tribal conflicts could arise from his disappearance.

A guide at the Abidjan Museum told us:

"Our Old Man is dear to us and we do wish to benefit from his wisdom for a long time to come. However, like all humans, he is mortal."

"Then, when he is no longer with us, what will there be left?"

"The Ivory Coast, that is all."

COMMENTARY ON ESTABLISHMENT OF RELATIONS WITH PRC

Abidjan FRATERNITE MATIN in French 3 Mar 83 p 1

[Text] The Ivory Coast and People's China are establishing diplomatic relations: this news, communicated simultaneously in Abidjan and Beijing, must have surprised more than one Ivorian, for it was completely unforeseen.

Thus, following the great nations, like the United States and France, the Ivory Coast is going to exchange ambassadors with the People's Republic of China. Does this mean a change of direction in the international policy of our country? The chief of state gave the answer in 1965: "We will not refuse to establish diplomatic relations with countries...which commit themselves to not taking advantage of diplomatic relations in order to interfere in our internal affairs, [and] who will commit themselves to respecting our institutions and which do not favor or encourage subversive intrigues in our country."

It must be repeated ad infinitum that the Ivorians remain attached to free enterprise, to openness with regard to their foreign relations, to cooperation with other states, and to peace, of which they have made a religion. It is these ideas which have always characterized our foreign policy, and which bespeak, better than long speeches, the desire of the Ivory Coast to work with any state which shares with them, and which reaffirm its toleration of regimes different from itself and its respect for all beliefs. It is a fact that our country has relations both with so-called free Western countries and those of Communist Europe, except for the USSR, where the desire to export its revolution whatever the cost is well known. This is not the case with People's China which, in the joint Ivorian-Chinese communique published yesterday, recognize "the principles of equality, of non-aggression...of non-interference, of mutual respect for sovereignty, territorial integrity, and political and economic options."

One must dwell a moment on these terms of the communique. They indicate the decision of the two countries to observe a certain neutrality in the policy pursued by them, and to do nothing which might support any action which could destabilize them. On these reassuring bases, which everything indicates will be respected, Ivorian-Chinese cooperation can only develop. Each of the two countries has everything to gain from it.

Countries of the Third World, facing the same problems of development--increased tenfold in the case of China due to the immensity and diversity of its territory and its galloping demography,--exposed to the pressures of the industrialized nations of the North, whether East or West, deprived of means, China and the Ivory Coast can aid each other mutually to give their peoples the welfare to which both aspire.

Just as China will be able to benefit from the influence of "The Sage of Africa" in the world and in Africa, the Ivory Coast will be inspired by the sense of discipline and organization of the Chinese people, a people of farmers, whose ingenuity has enabled it not only to be self-sufficient but to create a state and nation which, in certain fields, is succeeding in competing with and surprising the rich countries.

It is certain that the Ivory Coast can no longer fail to recognize Beijing, the importance of which on the Asian continent is enormous. There is no doubt that if it had been possible to maintain our relations with nationalist China our president, whose faithfulness in friendship is great, would not have hesitated. But history, and above all experience, show that that would not have been possible, because of the inplacable struggle being conducted by the two Chinas, and the desire of each to be the sole legal representative of the Chinese people.

The first of March, 1983 will therefore be a date to be remembered in our young history, and also a point of departure of a long, fruitful, and rich cooperation with the great country of China, which has decided to be a loyal partner of us Ivorians.

6108

CSO: 3419/671

BRIEFS

SACKS EXPORTED--In order to satisfy a vast African market which it has just conquered, the FILTISAC company has begun to export 2.3 million sacks. This sale will bring to the company, and therefore to the country, more than 700 million CFA francs, or 2 million US dollars in foreign exchange. These are the harbingers of the announced economic recovery, and also a sign of the vitality of Ivorian industry. [Excerpt] [Abidjan FRATERNITE MATIN in French 1 Mar 83 p 1] 6108

CSO: 3419/671

NATION FIGHTING TO SAVE SHIPPING FLAG

London AFRICA CONFIDENTIAL in English No 6, 16 Mar 83 pp 3-5

[Text] Backed by the US, Liberia is fighting to save its shipping flag. A final preparatory meeting due in October is to precede a major UNCTAD conference in early 1984. A decision will probably be taken to phase out flags of convenience.

The flag of convenience row is basically a north south dispute. For ship-owners in the West, particularly the US, flags of convenience enable them to run their vessels without many of the restrictions imposed by their own national flags. If a US ship flies its own flag, then normally it has to operate with an American crew. During the present world shipping slump, these crew costs can be crucial for an owner. Asian crews are far less costly.

The Third World claims that flags of convenience discourage the establishment of their own national fleets. Third World states generate 90% of the oil trade and over one-third of dry bulk cargoes. Yet these countries own less than 6% of the ships which carry these products. If flags of convenience were abolished, many shipowners operating under these flags could not afford to pay the higher labour costs of employing western sailors, so some of the vessels would be sold to Third World nations.

There has been considerable opposition to flags of convenience in the West. Trade unions argue that wages rates for crews are lower because shipowners can hire the cheapest labour. The safety record of flag of convenience vessels has also come under attack. Although Liberia has a better record than Panama, it still loses twice as many ships as vessels flying national flags.

Liberia, which accounts for three-quarters of flag of convenience vessels, finds itself defying the rest of the Third World over this issue. This is a source of considerable embarrassment to the authorities in Monrovia. But because of Liberia's dependence on the shipping fees, and even more importantly, its general dependence on the US, the government has been among the staunchest supporters of flags of convenience.

The company which administers the Liberian shipping flag is the International Trust Company (ITC), registered in Monrovia. In addition to its shipping interests, the firm has a profitable banking sideline which generated \$494,000 from its Liberian operations in 1981.

ITC has been in business since Liberia set up its flag of convenience in 1948. Its present contract runs until June 1987. ITC's head is Fred Lininger, Liberia's Deputy Commissioner of Maritime Affairs. Documents filed with the US Securities and Exchange Commission reveal that 80% of ITC is owned by the Washington-based International Bank (IB), a private industrial and insurance company. IB has a low profile, even in the US; its assets are now worth \$2.5bn.

The largest IB shareholder is George Olmsted, a retired Major-General who served with the US forces in the 1950s. Olmsted and his family trust have a 40% stake in IB. The other important shareholder, with 22%, is Life Investors Inc.

The marketing of the Liberian flag has been a huge money-spinner for IB. In 1981 alone, income from ship registration brought in \$4,460,000 for the company. The Liberian government collects a 73% share of the fees, providing about \$15m a year. For many years this income represented a significant part of the government's revenue. But with the rise in expenditure, \$420m in the current financial year, ship registration income is becoming less important.

The identity of the shipping companies which register their vessels in Monrovia is usually hidden behind innumerable office brass-plates. Frequently, these 'one-ship companies' are used to disguise the real owner of the fleet.

US shipping consultants, Appledore, have just completed a survey which reveals the nationality of Liberian-registered vessels. Out of the Liberian fleet of 2,137 ships totalling 140m tons, the US is still the leading owner, with 50m tons. Hong Kong comes next (31m tons), followed by Greece (16m tons) and Japan (11m tons). The Appledore survey also shows that the most important classes of Liberia-registered vessels are oil tankers (87m tons) and bulk and combined carriers (43m tons). This enormous fleet dwarfs the entire African fleet which (excluding Liberia) totals 1.6m tons, nearly half of which is accounted for by Nigeria and Ghana.

The vast majority of Liberia's registered shipowners are respectable operators. UNCTAD has nevertheless criticized the use of brass-plate companies on the grounds that shipowners can indulge in what is delicately described as 'repeated risk-taking or misconduct'.

The most notorious example of this misuse of the Liberian flag is the Salem story. Four years ago, the supertanker was scuttled off the Senegalese coast after illicitly delivering a cargo of Arab oil to South Africa. The \$56m theft made the Salem the biggest fraud in maritime history. Liberia's reputation as a ship registration centre has not yet recovered.

The Liberian maritime authorities pressed for a thorough investigation. A report by the government, which was never released, concluded that Captain Georgoulis and Chief Engineer Kalomiropoulos should be charged for the wilful and deliberate sinking of the Salem. It added that those responsible must be prosecuted and punished to the maximum extent of the law.

Three months after Master Sergeant Samuel K. Doe came to power, the captain and the chief engineer were suddenly released from prison. Gerald Cooper, Liberia's former Commissioner for maritime affairs resigned shortly afterwards. He is now working as a maritime consultant in London.

Liberia's registration facilities are generally efficient, and the administration is handled from the US, not Monrovia. The main operational centre at Reston, Virginia, controls a string of offices in New York, London, Rotterdam, Piraeus, Zurich and Hong Kong. Large US oil companies, among other conventional operators, use the Liberian registration.

The establishment of the Liberian flag was masterminded by retired US Secretary of State Edward Stettinius. His private papers, which have recently become available, show that CIA deputy director-general Edwin Siebert was informed about the strategic implications of the proposal. Siebert was told that the registration company would be able to provide the CIA with information and reports, and that America's strategic interests in Africa would be well served.

Panama, which has about 18% of total flag of convenience tonnage, is Liberia's only serious rival. A number of other countries offer similar facilities, including Singapore, Cyprus and Honduras. Other newcomers, usually tiny islands, are keen to get into the act. Latest among these interlopers are the Caymans, the Bahamas and Vanuatu.

In an intriguing development just over a year ago, Liberia faced a possible African rival. Reports from London suggested that British shipowner, Nicholas Churcher, and lawyer, Richard Dresner, were attempting to persuade Nigeria to agree to become a new flag of convenience. The idea was that Churcher's company, Marine Registration, would be given a contract to administer the service in return for a proportion of the ship registration fee.

Churcher's proposal has floundered, although it may have had some support from the Nigerian ministry of finance. Nigeria has denied that the scheme was ever a starter and gives its full backing to Third World demands for the abolition of flags of convenience. Churcher also approached a number of other countries including Ghana, Sierra Leone and the Seychelles. But at present the British businessman's attempts to break the Liberian near-monopoly seem to have ended.

There is a chance that the US and the other Western powers will be able to use their influence to block effective action to phase out flags of convenience, although there will have to be some drastic reforms if Third World opposition is to be quelled.

CSO: 3400/1110

DUVAL DEEMS PRIVATE INVESTMENT ESSENTIAL TO COUNTRY'S FUTURE

Port Louis LE MAURICIEN in French 25 Feb 83 pp 5-6

[Interview with opposition leader Gaetan Duval; date and place not given]

[Text] "Where is the island of Mauritius headed?" In recent years, LE MAURICIEN has put that question to a number of political and public opinion leaders during crucial phases of our evolution. Two weeks ago, it questioned Prime Minister Aneerood Jugnauth just after another government shakeup. Today, it speaks with opposition leader Sir Gaetan Duval, who looks at two major current issues: the present economic crisis and the political turmoil.

[Question] Sir Gaetan Duval, eight months after the new government took office, what is your opinion, as the leader of the opposition, of the country's situation at present? How do you judge the nation's mood and what are your personal feelings about the situation?

[Answer] One gains an insight into the country's mood through the many meetings organized by nearly all parties recently. Everyone, the MMM as well as the opposition, is holding excellent meetings these days. What does that indicate? That the people are waking up after what I would call a period of complete apathy, apathy about the fact that promises were not kept, about the successive political crises, about the fact that all hopes were systematically disappointed. I therefore see an awakening.

The awakening began with the unions, which let it be known that they no longer intended to be excluded or judged as a mere chamber for the approval of governmental decisions. That awakening is now followed by a period of interest. People want to hear what everyone has to say, how the government justifies its policies, why the opposition challenges them, and so on. I now see more interest than concern, after the blows that have rained down on the economy.

What do we now see in the economic field? The fact that the government is paying a very high price for investments. And I would add, a price that Ringadoo certainly would not have paid! Sir Veerasamy Ringadoo would very likely have refused to pay half the price! Why? Because when we were in the coalition government and even afterwards, when the Labor Party governed alone,

we enjoyed, under the old regime, a reserve of confidence here and abroad with respect to local and foreign investors, confidence that the MMM does not have. Today, in order to enjoy the same confidence vis-a-vis investors, the MMM has to pay twice the price in terms of guarantees, concessions or gifts.

[Question] Is it possible, given the current situation, to do something else? Is there an alternative policy?

[Answer] I would state immediately that I am in complete agreement with what the government is doing to encourage investments at any price. I agree insofar as it is necessary to get going. Getting going is already being saved. On the other hand, if one withdraws behind his principles and ideology, one has failed. I would therefore note with satisfaction that despite all its ideological limitations, despite the fact that it feels guilty about doing it, the current government still has the courage to do what it is doing. And yet, I am very afraid lest this policy may endanger the MMM's credibility vis-a-vis its supporters in the long run. I would tell you that I even have the impression that there is some exaggeration in government in ensuring development at any price. The boomerang effect is not far behind!

The MMM government is following a rightist policy with leftist votes, but the fact is that it is the only policy it can follow at the present time, the only one after the past 13 years! Unless one wants to see Mauritius limited to a Tanzanian or Malagasy system, there is no other choice than to stimulate the economy by private investments.

[Question] Do you therefore feel comfortable about the type of recovery proposed?

[Answer] Perfectly comfortable. The style of development has not changed. That cannot displease me.

[Question] Was it a surprise for you?

[Answer] Definitely! The surprise is the courage (I was going to say cheek) of Berenger. To propose all that one now sees in the MMM organs is essential! Furthermore, one has but to see the revolt of the prime minister himself to feel how unexpected this situation was. For myself, I prefer to remain as a spectator because I do not want to provoke any reaction contrary to the national interest.

[Question] Is it the type of policy you would have suggested to a different regime?

[Answer] There is no other! It is the type of policy that I would have followed myself, but undoubtedly while paying less because of the reserve of confidence. I will tell you quite frankly that I prefer anything to the policies of the outgoing government, the kind of stagnation that paralyzed the country, Ringadoo's distrust of investors. I even prefer Berenger's openness to the Ringadoo immobility, even if it is costing us dearly.

[Question] And at that rate, where do you think we were headed? Do you see a recovery on the horizon? Is the local effort adequate?

[Answer] One must not despair. I believe that the tourist industry will recover or at least will not decline. We have avoided the worst. As far as industry is concerned, on the other hand, I am very afraid that the situation will scarcely improve. On the contrary, I have learned that between now and March, there will be 1,100 layoffs in the free zone. I do not see any foreign investments either. Why? Because the facts have changed. It is now not so much the low cost of labor that attracts investors as it is the marketing prospects. Products must have a market and the international market is contracting. With the foreign policy it is now following, Mauritius is not getting the best grades overseas in order to be admitted into the circle of privileged parties on Western markets.

Let us look at the facts: Mauritius can only live and sell if it makes political concessions. By itself, Mauritius can do nothing. If we are put on the same footing as foreign producers in Africa or Asia, we would not sell anything and the economy would collapse. Only Western political protection would enable us to sell on the European market. I have always told the country: Mauritius is in a way forced to be the West's favorite in order to be able to obtain certain privileges. Whence the absolute need for Mauritius to reconcile its economic interests with its diplomacy. The diplomacy now followed by Jugnauth and De l'Estrac runs counter to the economic policy followed by Berenger. Vested interests rule in foreign policy. In 15 years, I have never asked Mauritius to prostitute itself. I have only asked it to keep silent at times when it was not necessary to speak.

[Question] You recently said on the MBC [Mauritius Broadcasting Corporation] that the current government was applying the policies dictated by the IMF and not those it promised. Is there an alternative to the IMF?

[Answer] There is an alternative within the requirements of the IMF insofar as the IMF can modify the conditions of its aid under pressure from the Americans or the West. We shall not delude them: The IMF is also interested in our foreign policy. And what do you think they say in the IMF when they see our foreign policy? One has to play one's cards well in this matter, make the rounds of the manufacturers, go to Washington to see this person and that, obtain their aid, then go say to the IMF: "Listen, we are making an effort and the West is willing to help us. But give us a little time; do not cause a social explosion by your measures!" Furthermore, that is what Ringadoo always pleaded: "We need time." Perhaps the IMF would accept. For the time being, the IMF has no gifts to give Berenger. The IMF did have some for Ringadoo but it will give none to the MMM.

Since austerity was inevitable, one has to pose the question of the legitimacy of this government. What does this government represent? The other day, I told Aneerood Jugnauth: "Listen, there cannot be three opposition leaders in this country. Either you or I or Berenger must be the leader of the opposition. Let us decide once and for all. I demand my right to speak on behalf of the opposition." What Jugnauth says, I say also: Is it legitimate for

this government, after being elected on a well-defined, very precise, well-documented program, backed by assurances all of whose elements were known, to come and say now: "None of that was true. We not have to apply a policy contrary to what we promised. We just tricked you to get your votes"? Does that government not become illegitimate? That is what Jugnauth seems to think when he says: "*Nou fine embete le peuple!*" [We are through tricking the people.]

Now, from a practical standpoint, how long can a government following such a policy play on its credibility by imposing its policy of austerity before the extreme left begins to rage, saying: "That is not possible. We did not vote for that. Get out! Turn over the reins of power."

[Question] Is it not ironic that you, who fought the MMM for years because it wanted to go too far and too fast, should now reproach that same MMM for being too timid?

[Answer] I only see a contradiction. I do not complain about its slowness. I am surprised that it should go off in another direction. Look at the problem of Diego Garcia. The constitution guarantees freedom of movement inside and outside the country. The government cannot prevent Mauritians from going to work on Diego if they want to. In addition, Indians are now being recruited to go work on Diego Garcia and Mrs Gandhi can do nothing about it. Even if she wanted to (and there is nothing to indicate that she wants to), she could do nothing about it. So what does our government do? It forbids people from going to work on Diego. The situation now grows more complicated, let it be said in passing, by the will of the Americans to obtain a political gesture from the current government. They want to get the MMM government in on it for very precise reasons and because they were very offended that one should refuse to supply them. The government should then have said: "We are a free country. Buy what you want from whomever you wish, but don't get us mixed up in it." Instead, they were put out; there was a refusal to trade. The Americans now want the government to make a political gesture by allowing Mauritians to go to Diego with its complete agreement. Where are those governmental policies leading us?

Regarding Diego, the government should do what we are doing about South Africa: shut its eyes! If I said all of that, I would say: "We are moving slowly, but we are going in the right direction." But today, they are in confusion. The government must therefore be made to face its responsibilities. There is no more ideological cohesiveness in the government. Why welcome the South Africans, who should, according to the MMM logic, be enemy No 1, and not welcome the Americans? Is it because this government is the prisoner of certain commitments to the Soviets? Is there pressure from its Soviet friends concerning Diego? I know that the Americans no longer understand anything. How can the government be liberal on South Africa and less liberal on the United States?

All that must be denounced and I do it. Then there are all Jugnauth's statements made overseas, which made me think of Ramgoolam in the early 1960's. I see Ramgoolam in Jugnauth. There was a time when Ramgoolam also made big

statements on Cuba, on the independence of Reunion, and so on, in the 1960's, before I got him into step on foreign policy. He would say anything and did incredible zigzagging. I can see all that again now. They receive the Cubans and say anything. Jugnauth is not the moderating element that people thought. Only Boodhoo seems to be a moderate in foreign policy. Jugnauth forgets that the Cubans are in Angola, that America is sensitive to anything having to do with the Cubans and the Libyans. That cannot last.

[Question] Employment is not improving, despite the incentives offered. Do you think that the trend can be reversed?

[Answer] The emigration of workers to Africa and the Middle East gave us a little breathing room, but I think that there will be 100,000 unemployed when the schools close, the arrival of young people on the labor market with the results of the exams this month, layoffs in the free zone, and so on. This government does not create jobs; it causes people to lose existing jobs. Look at the case of the casinos and gambling houses. I warned Berenger that by raising taxes on gaming places, there would not be one more penny, but would cause people to lose their jobs. The Amicale changed licenses, going from category A to category B in order to pay less and laid off 22 workers. Who gained by it?

For me, 100,000 unemployed is the critical level. It means people in the street, a social explosion and therefore, a dictatorship, because we will have to quell it. I can see all that by the end of the year if nothing is done to get employment going again. Now then, how can it be done? In agriculture? At what cost? If the IMF says: "Give more concessions to the sugar industry," will people accept that? Students are already beginning to say: "You refuse us 6 million, but you give 57 million to the sugar industry." Will Berenger be able to make more concessions to industry? How will this government convince people that he can get the country out of the hole?

Look at the cynicism of the government: It speaks of sacrifice, but to a question from Nicol Francois, it responds that in eight months, the ministers spent 976,000 rupees on travel and that the budget for ministerial travel (1 million rupees) is already used up. I am flabbergasted! How? There is a government that asks for 50 million in new taxes in the weeks ahead and that spends a million on travel in eight months, that does not even excuse itself, that explains nothing about where that million went and that has just announced that the sum will be increased! What did they criticize the old government for? Exactly the same arrogance. Do they believe that the people do not see, that they do not think, do not see that austerity is for the people while the high life is for the ministers? It is true that it is in human nature to seek pleasure. A Chinese-Mauritian friend, speaking about those ministerial travels, told me yesterday: "*Qui mo ti dire ou, missie Gaetan? Vaut mieux nourri ene lichien gras qui ene lichien maigre!*" [What do you say, Sir Gaetan? Is it better to feed a fat dog or a skinny dog?"] I find that magnificent: The MMM ministers are skinny dogs. They are hungry and therefore have nothing more to eat! Ramgoolam would never have dared to have such lavish receptions as those the MMM has! We asked how much the government spent for receptions in eight months. Next week we shall see. How do you expect to mobilize the nation under such conditions?

[Question] In these times of widespread unemployment, is it not shocking that you should take Mauritian industrialists to Reunion to invest their capital there and create jobs there instead of creating them at home?

[Answer] No. First of all, investing in Reunion means moving in the very direction of our relations with Reunion. If Mauritians live in Reunion, upper-level Mauritian personnel will be admitted into Reunion and the French market will be open to their products. There are elements of fruitful cooperation. One can have several stages of production here, then make the finished products in Reunion, and those products will enter France. Mauritian and Reunionese interests can be combined.

[Question] The government has experienced successive political crises since October and generally gives an impression of great fragility. How much time do you give the alliance?

[Answer] That will depend on what Berenger and Jugnauth do. Everyone thinks that the crisis is between the MMM and the PSM [Mauritian Socialist Party]. That is not so. The crisis is between Berenger and Jugnauth. Two conceptions of authority, of the constitution, come into conflict. Jugnauth has pulled himself together, while Berenger has missed the boat. He played his cards wrong. The establishment has rallied, as one could have expected, around Jugnauth/Boodhoo and the MMM machine has been put to sleep. Jugnauth may have thought: "If Berenger does not agree, he can leave!"

Berenger is too impatient. That is what ruins him. He has no experience. He does not realize that Ramgoolam, Jugnauth and the others can wait and do nothing for months or years. Under the current system, the prime minister controls the game. Berenger thought he could humiliate Jugnauth as he wished but he figured wrong. I have known Jugnauth in the Bar for a very long time. He can leap like a fish, rear up in the traces but withdraw as well. I think he is enamored of democracy, which explains the sympathy I have for him. I also think he is honest and capable of a spectacular coup, of leaving as he did when he was in the court or in government in the 1960's. But I also know that he has now consolidated his position in the establishment. I see great assurance in him.

My analysis is therefore that Berenger, by trying to do too much, has lost ground. But let us not be deceived. Berenger is still very strong and despite attempts by Jugnauth to oppose some of his policies, I do not know whether Jugnauth can still contain Berenger.

In my opinion, Berenger remains the principal adversary. I fear his actions, I dread his techniques and I believe he is profoundly intolerant. The opposition in Mauritius is now divided, confronting Berenger, into two camps: those who believe that Berenger can deliver the goods and impose his law on everyone (among them, I even see the Mauritian extreme right) for the purpose of saving the country; and second, those who think that anything is better than a dictatorship like that of Rene, Ratsiraka, Berenger.

[Question] After having seen him in government for eight months, do you still believe he is a threat to democracy?

[Answer] Honestly, yes. He is an impatient, impossible man! Look at his reactions to the teachers! He is an arrogant man who does not tolerate contradiction or obstacles in his path. All that is attributed to his impossible personality. As for me, I think he is a man determined to follow his philosophy to the end and do it -- I do not deny it -- in his mind, for the greater good of our country. But all dictators always think they are working for the good of their country! They firmly believe that a single man must decide for a certain amount of time. In short, I therefore believe that the continuation of the MMM/PSM alliance in its current structures is a kind of guarantee for democracy. That alliance will inevitably break up in the end because I cannot imagine the PSM going into the elections with Berenger again. But it will not break up immediately and it is good that it be that way.

[Question] There has been a great deal of talk recently about the communal limitations that make it difficult for a non-Hindu to gain access to government posts. From your 25 years in politics, what is your impression on that subject?

[Answer] Berenger made a fundamental mistake as far as his career is concerned: that of believing that the result of the 1982 elections would have been different if he had waged the campaign as alternative prime minister. That is not true. In the context of the latest general elections in June, if he had told the country clearly: "I want to be prime minister," the people would certainly have voted in the same way or nearly the same way. In June, it was possible for him to be prime minister if he had wanted. Now my political experience tells me that that situation will never happen again and it will take a long time for a non-Hindu to be accepted as a possible prime minister. The MMM had done considerable work in 10 years against communalism, to the point that people were thinking "class" and not "race." Berenger's peak was in June 1982. With or without Jugnauth, he would have won a comfortable majority and would now have been prime minister. He missed the boat. He said to himself: "That does not matter. I will control Jugnauth. I will be Father Joseph, the grey eminence." But it did not happen that way because our system makes the acting prime minister master of the political game. After the crises of October, of communalism everywhere, I now see a feeling of insecurity among the Hindus, who see Jugnauth and Boodhoo threatened. Once bitten, twice shy. I therefore no longer see Berenger as prime minister; neither he nor any other non-Hindu and for a long time to come.

[Question] You are now asking for the elections to be moved up. Do you think that will help the country under the present circumstances?

[Answer] I am not truly and seriously asking for general elections. I simply think that this government will not be able, after December, to continue to impose austerity on the population. There will be turmoil in the country if it continues. Under such conditions, it would be better to have a new mandate for austerity.

[Question] Given the prospect of possible general elections, what is one to think of that front which you yourself, the former prime minister, Sir Seewoosagar Ramgoolam, and Sir Satcam Boolell seem to now demand?

[Answer] I am simply thinking of a "front" in order to preserve democracy, possibly for elections, but not necessarily. Next, in order to preserve the image abroad of a foreign policy different from that of the regime. If it is necessary or if we are caught short, we shall be forced to go into the elections together, but first, there would have to be a change in structures in all parties, so as to have something more serious than what one now sees.

[Question] In retrospect, you still do not regret not having made an alliance with Sir Seewoosagar in June?

[Answer] Absolutely not!

[Question] Do you now see Boolell as a recourse?

[Answer] I have looked at all potential leaders of the opposition forces and I have come to the conclusion that the choice can only be Boolell, proposed by Ramgoolam, rejoining the Labor Party in order to become its leader with the consent of Ramgoolam.

[Question] What would Ramgoolam's political role be?

[Answer] His role must now be to appoint his own successor and to propose his name to the country. He must avoid any split. Let Ramgoolam choose Boolell and present him and impose him as the leader of all opposition forces. I would then be at his side. It is still possible to rally all this country's people who no longer harbor illusions. Let us remember that the MMM has been nothing more than a gathering of all the country's disillusioned persons. Boolell and I each have a role to play in the post-MMM period. Boolell is the communal choice, just as I am the economic choice, for what is the MMM now doing other than to apply all my economic ideas, those for which I fought for years? The MMM now sees that I was right. The only policy to follow in the economic field is mine: playing the private investment card no matter what the price.

What other choice is there? Boodhoo nearly failed; David and his Labor Party represent strictly nothing. Only Ramgoolam, Boolell and I still count. I got 30-33 percent in several districts of the country, even if I was not elected. I believe that now, 80 percent of the people no longer know where they are at, what has to be done. Everything now becomes possible again. But nothing has yet been done. We are in an extremely unstable period. Will the fights between Jugnauth and Berenger continue? Will the PSM stay in the government? It is very difficult to know where we are headed, but we must be ready. I am convinced that many Mauritians still have confidence in me and now see that I was right when I said that a policy of private investment had to be followed. I think that many Mauritians now hope, after seeing all that they have seen, that in another government, I would take control of foreign affairs and diplomacy in order to put together a coherent diplomacy that would produce results.

We must find a credible alternative around Boolell and myself, perhaps Yousouf Mohamed also, in order to restore the nation's confidence and lift the people's morale.

[Question] Have you already laid the foundations for such a movement and made preliminary contacts?

[Answer] No. Nothing serious has been done yet. The opposition is not yet ready to move into surprise elections together. It is up to the young to create the structures.

[Question] In conclusion, Gaetan Duval, what future do you see for Mauritius?

[Answer] I would not like to be a pessimist. One does not have the right to be a pessimist, but I see a great deal of pessimism around me. If the government would demonstrate a little more realism, everything would perhaps not be lost, but I think that with the current foreign policy, Mauritius has no future. In the world at present, economy and foreign affairs go together. There can be no bicephalism. But today, we have a prime minister who apparently cares very little about the economy, who is still reading his little pink book. We have a minister of foreign affairs who has gone after glory, a minister of finance who has rolled up his sleeves, who knows the extent of the difficulties, but who is still too imbued with the socialist mystique to say to De l'Estrac: "Shut up and let me work!" That is the extremely false situation in which we live. What will come out of it? We shall see.

11,464

CSO: 3419/654

ECONOMY STILL FAR FROM RECOVERY

Port Louis LE MAURICIEN in French 24 Feb 83 p 4

/Text/ "Sacrifice and patience will be required to make economic recovery a reality. We have begun to inch forward, but we can only succeed if the economically active sectors of the country decide to join hands and work in a climate of real stability." These are the words of Mr. Benoit Arouff, the outgoing president of the chamber of commerce and industry, as he reviews the economic developments of 1982.

Mr Arouff said that the fiscal and monetary steps taken in the past proved insufficient to stabilize the balance of payments. Moreover, weather conditions, the global recession, high interest rates and the very harsh conditions attached to loans had very serious repercussions on the manufacturing and tourism sectors as well as employment. However, the dramatic steps taken by the government spurred new hopes, despite the fact that the situation remained very serious.

Speaking about the national economy, Mr Arouff noted that the GDP increased from 8.853 billion rupees to 10.2 billion rupees, an increase of 15.2 percent. But real growth was just under 6 percent. The increase was primarily due to the performance of the agricultural sector, or more precisely the sugar sector, which brought in more income than it did the previous year. In fact, revenue increased 25 percent. In the manufacturing sector there was 9 percent growth, while in the other sectors there was slight growth or even (as in the construction sector) a slight decline. Trade, on the other hand, declined by about 5 percent.

The real level of private consumption declined by 3 percent, going from 73.4 percent of GDP in 1981 to 69.5 percent in 1982. Government consumption outlays increased by only 1 percent. With regard to investment, the situation is disquieting. Gross fixed capital formation declined by 11.3 percent in real terms, because of financial constraints in the sugar industry and the other manufacturing sectors, and because of the critical problems faced by the construction companies. In the manufacturing sector, several new enterprises started up, while others had to shut down. "Productive sectors which alone can generate quick and sustained economic development, were adversely affected by the inadequacy of financial resources," Mr Arouuf stated.

Turning to commerce, the outgoing president of the chamber of commerce and industry said that the c.i.f. value of imports went up only slightly (from 4.977 billion rupees to 5.05 billion rupees) as a result of restrictions and severe restraint on demand. In reality, the volume of imports declined by 9 percent. Examples: containerized merchandise was down by 13,380 tons (9.1 percent), oil products were down by 3,070 tons (3.7) percent and cement was down by 15,900 tons (6.5 percent). There were also important changes in the composition of our imports. Transport machinery and equipment accounted for 10 (and not 15) percent of all imports. The c.i.f. value of those imports went from 737 million rupees down to 500 million rupees. "This clearly indicates the general fall in investment," Mr Arouff concluded. Manufacturing inputs and food commodities accounted respectively for 30.3 percent and 25.2 percent of imports, increasing by 2 and 1 percent, respectively. Oil products accounted for 18 percent of imports. Freight and insurance costs amounted to 760 million rupees, or 15 percent of the c.i.f. value of the imports.

With regard to exports, there was a 21.4 percent increase, with f.o.b. value rising from 3.278 billion rupees to 3.980 billion rupees. The volume of imports went up 14 percent. Exports from the free zone and sugar respectively accounted for 31.2 and 61.9 percent of the total value of exports. The trade deficit was on the order of 1.07 billion rupees, which is an improvement over the record deficit of 1.7 billion rupees recorded in 1981. The deficit is equal to 10.5 percent of GDP. It was more than 15 percent over the course of the last five years, reaching a peak of 20 percent in 1981. It is thus estimated that the balance of payments deficit for 1982 will be less than 500 million rupees. Foreign currency reserves were up to 580 million rupees in December 1982, compared to 271 million rupees in December 1981.

Reviewing the situation in the manufacturing sector, Mr Arouff said that this sector's share of GDP in 1982 was 16.5 percent, compared to 15.5 percent in 1981. According to estimates made in September, the number of jobs in large enterprises declined from 37,159 in 1981 to 36,900 in 1982. There were 121 applications for manufacturing permits, 26 were approved, and 10 enterprises began operations. "As in 1981, low investments and lack of buoyancy in the local market were mainly responsible for the stagnation in the manufacturing sector. The low investment situation was partly due to uncertainty in an election year and to scarce cash resources, the bulk of the available cash being mobilized by the state," said the outgoing president.

With regard to the free zone, 31 of the 55 applications received were approved. Nineteen new enterprises, including 12 in the field of textiles, were established, providing 1,400 jobs. Nine enterprises shut down, laying off 1,425 workers. The number of jobs in the free zone in December 1982 was estimated at 23,400, compared to 23,600 in 1981. Exports from the free zone brought in 1.24 billion rupees, an increase of 153 million rupees.

In the agricultural sector (18 percent of GDP), there was a record sugar cane harvest of 6,581,862 tons. Nevertheless, extractable sugar content was poor, because of adverse weather conditions. The rate of extraction (10.45 percent)

was the lowest recorded in the last 50 years. Sugar production increased 19.7 percent, from 574,526 tons in 1981 to 687,940 tons in 1982. Income (2.463 billion rupees) was up 50 percent over 1981. Mauritius also sold 175,000 tons of molasses, and this brought in something like 67 million rupees. The average price per ton, which was 685 rupees in 1981, fell to 383 rupees last year.

The global recession has affected the tourist sector, which has been somewhat stagnant since 1980. The number of tourists in 1982 was 118,960, compared to 121,400 in 1981. Hotel occupancy (from January to September) was 55 percent, compared to 63 percent for the same period of 1981. Three hotel projects were approved last year. These projects, which will require investments on the order of 400 million rupees, will provide 425 new rooms for our tourists.

"1982 was no doubt a most critical year," Mr Arouff concluded. The reasons are many: unemployment going higher than 20 percent, financial problems in the sugar industry, stagnation in the productive sectors, decline in the rate of investment. "The necessary climate of stability inside Mauritius, and respectability outside Mauritius, must be created and maintained if further efforts at bringing investment into Mauritius and opening new markets our products are to bear fruit," he said.

9516

CSO: 3419/655

FOREIGN MINISTER CHISSANO ON FRONTLINE CONFERENCE

PM111026 Lisbon DIARIO DE NOTICAS in Portuguese 30 Mar 83 p 3

[Interview with Mozambique Foreign Minister Joaquim Chissano in Lisbon; date not given]

[Excerpts] DIARIO DE NOTICIAS: What results were achieved at the [front-line] conference?

Joaquim Chissano: The results of the conference are very good. The attendance was very large. We were surprised by the large and enthusiastic attendance of the inaugural session. The most important thing is that the Portuguese people were not opposed to its being held. At first we hoped that this would be so, but when the conference began to be placed in doubt we feared a failure. In the end the results were extremely good, as was the attendance of foreign delegations, which adopted very resolute stances of support for the frontline countries.

DIARIO DE NOTICIAS: What about specific measures?

Joaquim Chissano: The first measure that we are taking in southern Africa is to support the South African people in their antiapartheid struggle. The principal element is the struggle waged by the South African people within South Africa, and the Namibian people's struggle within Namibia is also of prime importance. Another essential is the strengthening of our independence by means of a political and economic consolidation and by the mobilization of all our efforts toward a fuller development of our countries. It is important to strengthen our countries' independence as an example of the development of the struggle, to give greater confidence to the peoples of southern Africa and South Africa. It is also very important that development be successful in our countries. There is a coordination of efforts among the countries of the region for economic development within the context of the conference on the coordination of development in the countries of southern Africa, which has had many successes. For this reason this conference is the target of attacks by the apartheid regime. Our intention is to diminish dependence on it, since our economy was built during the colonial period to serve the interests of the colonizing countries and South Africa. There is a connection between the colonizing countries and South Africa. Now we want to alter the situation, to create a situation of interdependence among the countries, including South Africa, on an equal basis.

DIARIO DE NOTICIAS: Has this conference produced any new proposals to the international community with a view to ending the climate of tension in southern Africa?

Joaquim Chissano: This conference is not at the government level. Its proposals will not necessarily transform the tense situation in southern Africa overnight. But, if implemented conscientiously by all the organizations or governments represented here, they will create conditions for attenuating the state of tension. At least they will serve as a force of pressure, a moral force on the apartheid regime, which is the principal cause of the tension in southern Africa. There are also proposals of a material nature, actions designed to increase the frontline countries' defense capability, from the economic, military and social viewpoints. Each organization and each country will undoubtedly proceed from this conference's resolutions to make its own contribution within the context that it judges most useful. If in the military field, fine; if in the social field, excellent; if in the economic field, even better!

DIARIO DE NOTICIAS: Would you care to comment on the allegations that this would serve the strategic interests of the Soviet Union?

Joaquim Chissano: This conference has a specific aim: Support for the frontline countries and for the liberation movements in southern Africa. It is possible that the Soviet Union has a particular interest in this conference. I believe that any other country could also attend and serve its own interests through this conference. But it was not convened for that purpose. I do not know whether it could serve Portugal's interests. I believe it does. A country that supports another certainly has advantages; mutual cooperation and friendship. If the Soviet Union has any particular interests in the conference, that is the concern of the Soviet Union, not of the conference, which was convened to support the frontline countries. This is why we are attending. If it were a conference organized to serve the interests of the Soviet Union perhaps we would not attend. But if the Soviet Union's strategy is to support the frontline countries, we can only applaud it and appeal to everyone to join this strategy, which is very healthy.

DIARIO DE NOTICIAS: What are the prospects for bilateral relations between Mozambique and Portugal?

Joaquim Chissano: Relations between Mozambique and Portugal are good and there is cooperation in several sectors, virtually all sectors. Objective difficulties of a material nature could prevent a greater advance. But since President Ramalho Eanes' visit and later the Portuguese prime minister's visit to Mozambique, we have entered a more intense phase of relations of cooperation between the countries. Some of the material difficulties are tending to increase. In Lisbon we took stock of the situation with both the president of the republic and the foreign minister. We are devoting greater attention to alleviating and unblocking the very pressing deadlocks that we identified.

MOZAMBIQUE

MACHEL'S BERLIN SPEECH CONDEMNS IMPERIALISM

MB121251 Maputo Domestic Service in Portuguese 1030 GMT 12 Apr 83

[Text] In his speech at the conference on Karl Marx in Berlin yesterday, President Samora Machel condemned imperialism for its arms buildup and its assistance to the most regressive forces of humanity. President Samora Machel underlined, however, that these actions were met with increasing resistance from peace-loving and progress-loving peoples.

The Mozambique head of state hailed the initiatives of the Warsaw Pact and pointed out that they expressed the wishes of all the peoples for peace and contained more realistic and just solutions to avoid a generalized war and nuclear catastrophe.

During his speech, the supreme leader of Mozambique condemned the belligerent policies of Israel and South Africa, their imperialist allies and privileged countries in various parts of the world.

On this occasion, the president of the Frelimo Party expressed Mozambique's solidarity with the ANC of South Africa and with SWAPO in their struggle against the apartheid regime.

In a reference to Marxism as a science of revolution, the leader of Mozambique said that Marxism was the fruit of the people's struggle for a better future and that is why it is constantly being renewed and developed by man.

President Samora Machel said on the occasion that the experience of the revolutionary struggle by the people of Mozambique constitutes an example of the thesis that the driving force of history is class struggle and that this is and will continue to be a reality on the African continent.

CSO: 3442/187

MOZAMBIQUE

MACHEL ACCUSES SOUTH AFRICA OF PLOTTING

PA101455 Paris AFP in English 1435 GMT 10 Apr 83

[Text] Djibouti, 10 Apr (AFP)--South Africa is planning to set up a buffer zone in Namibia by installing a government allied with Pretoria, President Samora Machel of Mozambique said here today.

The Mozambican president made the statement in press interviews during a short stopover on the way to East Germany.

South Africa resumed direct rule of Namibia in January after the resignation of the territory's Ministerial Council, chaired by Dirk Mudge.

Mr Machel said South Africa felt threatened by the "frontline" states of Botswana, Zambia, Mozambique, Angola and Zimbabwe.

He also commented that South Africa was being shaken internally by the activities of the banned anti-apartheid African National Congress, and predicted that the apartheid regime imposed by four million whites on 23 million blacks could not last.

Mr Machel is accompanied on his trip to East Germany by a large delegation including Agriculture Minister Sergio Vieira and Cabinet Director Jose Julio de Andreode.

CSO: 3400/1138

MOZAMBIQUE

VOFA SAYS 6 CUBANS KILLED, PIPELINE SABOTAGED

MB120705 (Clandestine) Voice of Free Africa in Portuguese to Mozambique
1700 GMT 11 Apr 83

["War Communique Issued by the Headquarters of the Mozambique National Resistance"--date not given]

[Text] 1. On 17 March 1983 a military vehicle was ambushed and destroyed between (?Macaene) and Machatuine in (Langa) area, Maputo Province.

On the same day an ambush was staged on the road between Massinga and Funhalauro. Four vehicles were destroyed, and assorted war materiel was captured.

2. On 21 March 1983 our forces ambushed a military vehicle between Magude and Mahel in Duco area, Magude district.

3. On 27 March 1983 the Beira-Mutare pipeline was destroyed in Tica area.

The government of Zimbabwe had been informed that no military operations would be carried out against the pipeline during a period of 3 months. Meanwhile the government of Zimbabwe was expected to withdraw its troops from Mozambique territory. Since the time limit has elapsed and the Zimbabwe government persists in acting against the just struggle of the Mozambican people, the Mozambique National Resistance [RENAMO] is forced to resume retaliation against a number of targets important to the economy of Zimbabwe. Such retaliation will only stop when the Mugabe government decides to withdraw the Zimbabwean troops who are collaborating with Machel's communist oppression.

4. On 31 March 1983 RENAMO forces made contact with the enemy in Magoro area, Gaza Province. During the fighting 27 enemy soldiers, including 6 Cuban officers who led the enemy, were killed. The identification documents of the Cuban officers were captured and will be released in due course. Large quantities of war materiel, including one B-10 cannon, one B-11 cannon, seven machineguns, two bazookas, 18 light weapons and assorted ammunition, were captured.

The struggle continues. Freedom or death. Victory is ours.

MOZAMBIQUE

BRIEFS

NEW COASTAL TRADE SHIPS--The ships Lugela and Inharrime changed flags in Bilbao, Spain, this morning. The ships were bought from Spain last year and cost about 76,000 contos. The Navic Coastal Trade Fleet, which had 12 ships, now has 14 ships. The ceremony to change the flags was attended by Jorge Coelho, director-general of the Mozambique Shipping Lines, Navic. The Inharrime and the Lugela will leave Spain for Mozambique next week and are expected to arrive in Maputo within a month. [Text] [MB100511 Maputo Domestic Service in Portuguese 1030 GMT 9 Apr 83]

CSO: 3442/179

THIRTY SWAPO INFILTRATORS KILLED; EQUIPMENT CAPTURED

MB111616 Johannesburg SAPA in English 1514 GMT 11 Apr 83

[Text] Windhoek, 11 Apr, SAPA--Security forces in SWA/Namibia have shot and killed 30 SWAPO infiltrators at the weekend and captured quantities of equipment, the SWA Territory Force [SWATF] headquarters said in Windhoek today.

SWAPO terrorists killed two civilians in separate incidents in Ovambo and western Kavango in the same period.

The SWATF said in a statement that the 30 infiltrators had been tracked down and killed in a series of minor armed contacts in western Ovambo and on the SWA/Namibian border with Angola.

A total of 307 infiltrators have been killed since SWAPO began its latest infiltration attempt of SWA/Namibia's northern districts in mid-February.

Among those killed at the weekend were members of the so-called "specialist unit." They were on their way back to Angola.

All seven terrorists who attacked Vergenoeg hunting farm in the Tsumeb district on 6 March had been accounted for, the SWATF said.

The remaining 13 infiltrators were killed in small skirmishes in the border zone between SWA/Namibia and Angola at the weekend.

The security forces suffered no casualties.

The SWATF said intelligence reports indicated the possibility "is very slim" of SWAPO infiltrations into farmland areas south of Ovambo and Kavango.

"The incursion by the so-called specialist unit, billed by SWAPO propaganda as an intensification of the onslaught, has failed miserably," the SWATF statement said.

The failure was evidenced by 14 SWAPO groups that had been prepared for the infiltration campaign but "only 12 terrorists managed to reach the farming area."

SWAPO could now be expected to step up its propaganda campaign and attempt acts of sabotage to restore its tarnished image in preparation for a United Nations-sponsored conference on SWA/Namibia to be held in Paris from 25 April.

The SWATF said SWAPO terrorists had already killed a civilian in central Ovambo at the weekend and bayoneted to death a schoolteacher in western Kavango.

Inhabitants were asked not to relax their vigilance.

The total number of civilians killed by SWAPO on its present incursion was 27, of whom six had died in landmine blasts, the SWATF said.

CSO: 3400/1159

NIGER

GOVERNMENT'S WELL DRILLING PLANS, METHODS NOTED

Niamey LE SAHEL in French 17 Mar 83 p 3

[Commentary by Sidi Boubacar: "The Water in Question"]

[Text] "No Nigerien will die of thirst." This promise made by the CMS [Supreme Military Council] and the government on 15 April 1974 remains valid. Thus, Prime Minister Oumarou Mamane assured the people of Zinder that "Studies are currently under way by specialists to settle the water problem." The statement was made during his visit to the capital of the Zinder Department.

As is the case of all Sahel countries, the problem of potable water remains grave in some parts of our country, particularly in the bedrock areas, where drilling is frequently expensive.

Since "water is priceless," the target of the five-year plan is to develop 2,000 water supply centers between 1979 and 1983 and to open 17,000 other outlets before the end of the water decade (1981-1990).

Naturally, this is an ambitious project, but could a price be set for a rare commodity such as water in countries plagued by drought? And if so, what would it be?

Whereas in Niger, within the national framework this project is carried out by the DIH (Hydraulic Infrastructure Office) and the OFEDES (Ground Waters Office), through which hydraulic policy is implemented, on the international level the UNDP and UNICEF give first priority to water policy.

In Niger, 210 wells were drilled by the UNDP and UNICEF in the Zinder region in 1981. This means that despite the poor distribution of ground water beds in the country and the imbalance of water resources, ceaseless efforts will continue to be made. In Zinder the prime minister said that "The state is not neglecting this problem."

Modern geophysical methods will certainly help to provide a definitive solution to the problem, specifically in the bedrock areas such as Damagaram-Mounio.

5157

CSO: 3419/689

RESULTS OF PREMIER'S VISIT TO HINTERLAND SET FORTH

Niamey LE SAHEL in French 18-20 Mar 83 p 3

[Commentary by Joseph Seydou Allakaye: "Redoubling Vigilance"]

[Text] Prime Minister Oumarou Mamane, who has been taking a working trip in the country's hinterland since Monday, visited Diffa on Wednesday. This was the third stage of his visit to all department centers. In Manga's capital, the prime minister spoke on national security, followed by a discussion on the international economic crisis and the Development Society. He also extensively discussed the responsibility of hinterland cadres, who are best placed in terms of defining national realities.

Today, more than ever before, everyone speaks of the situation. The difficult situation in which we find ourselves, a many-headed monster created by the world economic crisis, is a daily reality, the prime minister told the Manga population. That is why we must face it together. On this subject, Oumarou Mamane emphasized that some steps had been or were about to be taken to enable the Nigerien populations to face such a trying situation. This reveals the extent to which the CMS and the government bear in mind the difficulties facing the various social strata. Meanwhile, the prime minister called upon the Manga populations to reactivate their departmental economic machinery as a result of the elimination of some restrictions such as the sale of beans.

Such efforts aimed at organization, mobilization and participation in the reactivation of the national economic situation, promoted by Oumarou Mamane, directly blend with the targets of the Development Society. This supreme option facing our country, leading to the adoption of a new and real development was recalled by the prime minister, who pointed out that it remains above all the concern of all Nigeriens. It is an instrument for the mobilization of the entire country aimed at ensuring Niger's harmonious development. We have no right to scorn such a beautiful instrument!

As he did in Maradi and Zinder, in discussing national security, Oumarou Mamane strongly emphasized that safeguarding national security must be a common concern. But, as the prime minister said, national security must be based on mutual respect and, above all, understanding. This is the only way to develop reciprocal trust within the community. Security means harmony and vigilance. Actually, as the prime minister reminded, it is a question for the Nigeriens to

redouble their vigilance and to strengthen the ties among the people of the country.

That is actually why we must promote within our respective areas of activity the development of a real climate of solidarity with and love for one's neighbor. Let us note above all that the purpose of this security is primarily to lay better foundations for national unity which, in turn, will lead to Niger's harmonious development. The country's security, as the head of state, General Seyni Kountche likes to say, is priceless. This says it all. We already have rural development councils and various socioprofessional associations, which cement our national unity.

In the course of his visit to the Manga capital the prime minister called upon the cadres to abandon some of their stateless attitudes, to show their good will in their work and to come closer to the population. In turn, the population, the rural population in particular, should be aware of the harm caused by rural exodus. This, Oumarou Mamane acknowledged, would require a real awareness campaign so that the Nigeriens will remain and work in our country in order to earn their living locally. Let us not forget that the 15 April deadline is not far off. Therefore, all of us must get ready together, through consultations and involvement, to ensure the actual start of our new road to development, represented by our Development Society.

5157

CSO: 3419/689

NIGER

BRIEFS

SAUDI GIFT--The minister of interior has the pleasure to inform the population that the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia has made the following gift to our compatriots expelled from Nigeria: 9,996 individual rations, 1,996 blankets, 998 five-people tents, 998 rugs, 10,880 jellabas and 36 tons of medical drugs of various kinds. On behalf of the affected population, the minister of interior expresses his greatest gratitude to the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia. [Text] [Niamey LE SAHEL in French 18-20 Mar 83 p 1] 5157

CSO: 3419/689

SPPF HOLDS SEMINAR ON ROLE OF DISTRICT BRANCHES

Rene's Address

Victoria NATION in English 17 Mar 83 pp 1, 2

[Text] The need for unity is both the cause and the overriding aim of the current re-organisation at the base of the Seychelles People's Progressive Front, party president Albert Rene told the Seminar on the Role and Responsibilities of district Branches which opened at the Maison du Peuple yesterday afternoon.

Unity would have to reign at all levels of the party if the Seychellois nation was to advance at a quicker pace, he told the 115 recently appointed branch committee members from the country's 23 districts.

"In future we will have to have unity among district branches, among branch committee members, among party members in general, in the relations between the branches and the Central Executive Committee and the Secretary-General's office, and so on," Mr. Rene stressed.

Flanked by the rest of the CEC members, the party leader explained that if last year's SPPF National Congress had seen it necessary to re-organise the party at the district level to provide for CEC-appointed branch officials rather than elected ones, it was because since the branches were formed in 1978, they had not been working as they should.

The party president then cited examples of branch committees, branch committee officials, and SPPF members working in competition with, and even at cross purposes to each other.

"If, since the beginning in 1978 we had unity among branch officials and members in general, I believe we would have progressed much further than we have up to now," Mr. Rene said.

Noting that the country had made a lot of progress all round since the 1977 liberation, he pointed out that if Seychelles had made substantial achievements in the fields of education, health, housing and so on, it was despite the disunity and the intra-party quarrelling and rumour mongering--without which the achievements would have been even greater.

Putting to the seminar his own opinions as to how the party branches should work from now on and the responsibilities of the committee members, Mr. Rene invited the branch officials to comment and improve on the points he made.

Mr. Rene believed that the principal duty of a branch committee was to educate and guide Front members and the population as a whole on the country's political principles. He also thought that a committee should organise district life and activities in a way that would make the community proud and satisfied; guide the people through good example; and make suggestions and proposals as to how the Government could improve the lives of the district communities.

"It is not the work of a branch committee to give orders," the party leader said, believing that branch committees should not impose rules and regulations on their districts as to what to do and what not to do.

No More Pressure

Too often in the past, he continued, certain branch officials had tried to pressure other people to give jobs, houses and such like to favourites of their own choosing.

"It is not the work of a branch to interfere in the Government's work," Mr. Rene strongly believed, and he urged the new committees to make any complaints or suggestions they had in this sphere through the Secretary-General's Office. The Government should be allowed to get on with its work instead of spending precious time dealing with similar complaints from different districts.

After all, one of the jobs of the Front's Central Executive Committee as elected by the party members, through the National Congress, was to ensure that the Government adhered to the political principles of the country.

It is not the work of a branch committee to spread rumours or to criticise negatively and outside the right channels", the SPPF president also said. Nothing could be more harmful to the unity of the party and the country, Mr. Rene underlined.

Looking at the branch committee's five members, the party president said that now the chairman would have many more responsibilities than before, although he would be helped by a full-time fully-qualified, and implicitly trusted secretary.

If the CEC felt, on its own or on the advice of the branch committee that a chairman or any other member was not doing his job properly, it would not hesitate to replace the person at any time. This would also apply to a committee as a whole, Mr. Rene said.

In the President's words, a chairman would be "100 per cent responsible" for the workings of his branch, including all the duties of the committee members specifically responsible for political education, social affairs, youth and culture.

"In other words, the chairman will be the pillar of the branch," Mr. Rene said. If any of the other members did not carry out their duties well, it would be the chairman's duty and responsibility to recommend his replacement to the CEC.

Inviting Mr. Rene to make his speech at the beginning of the opening ceremony, Secretary-General Guy Sinon called on the delegates to contribute fully over the next three afternoons that the seminar will run.

Special meetings focussing of the duties of each committee member will follow with members of the CEC.

Warning on Rumors

Victoria NATION in English 18 Mar 83 pp 1, 2

[Text] The time of mercenary attacks and attempted coup d'Etats is well and truly over in Seychelles, President Albert Rene assured SPPF branch officials yesterday as he urged them to combat rumours aimed at demoralising the people and destabilising the country.

Speaking on the second afternoon of the Seminar on the Role of Responsibilities of Branch Committees, Mr. Rene, who is also the president of the Seychelles People's Progressive Front, referred to rumours last week that the Government was to be toppled by another mercenary invasion or a coup d'Etat while he attended the New Delhi Non-Aligned Summit.

Warning

Party delegates gathered in the Maison du Peuple conference room from all over the country listened intently as the SPPF leader warned that such rumours were being spread by people who did not want to see Seychelles develop in peace.

"These rumours are spread on purpose to destabilise and demoralise us and to stop us progressing," Mr. Rene stressed. Just because there had been some security problems of this nature in the past, it did not mean that it had to become a habit, he added.

Confidence

"Mercenaries will never again disembark in Seychelles," Mr. Rene stated firmly as he called on the branch committees to fight strongly such attempts to upset the population's peace of mind.

The authorities had the country's security situation well under control, the President said, and were keeping track of everyone in the country plotting against or working to destabilise the Government.

Mr. Rene urged the party officials to get on with their work in the political, social, economic and cultural arenas and to have confidence in their security forces.

Two subjects that preoccupied the seminar over the past two days were the high expenses for sports equipment which all branches face, and the creation of a national-youth movement.

Many representatives expressed the view that branches should not spoonfeed their sportsmen but rather should encourage them to contribute towards the cost of equipment and to take active part in all branch fund raising activities.

Youth League

Concerning a national youth movement, after a long debate spread over the two days, a proposition was adopted to create an SPPF Youth League, which like the parent body itself, would be an avant garde organisation.

The League would take in motivated and disciplined youth who would set an example to others. It was proposed that they be divided into three groups: Young Pioneers (for children from Primary One to Primary Six classes) Pioneers (from Primary Seven to Primary nine) Young Militants grouping dedicated youth inside or outside the NYS up to the age of 21.

Young Militants would also become full members of the Front on reaching the age of 16. Their main role would be to lead, educate and motivate the other youth of their districts.

On reaching 21, despite leaving the Youth League, the militants would continue as members of the Front.

The role of the Branch chairman was also fully debated and explained on Thursday, particularly their responsibility towards the way branch funds are spent, and how to maintain party discipline. It was agreed that from now on every branch would draw up a yearly budget of revenue and expenditure and endeavour to keep their spending within the budget.

CSO: 3400/1137

BRIEFS

SHARK NETTING TRIALS--An attempt to net sharks at night off Mahe's coast was a big success on Tuesday night when 830 kilos of fish were caught by the Fideco research Boat Schyllarus. Until now no serious attempt had been made to fish specifically for sharks and if Fideco's research here is successful the technique may be introduced to local fishermen. This was a second attempt by Scyllarus, the larger of Fideco's two research boats, after the first try with a different net was affected by bad weather. The skipper of the 10-metre long Scyllarus Maxwell Agathine, said that the shark catch, the biggest ever brought in from one trip by any local vessel, was made some 17 metres off the coast in 25 metres of water north-west of Cap Ternay and in 20 metres south-west of Conception island, some four kilometres away. A 100-metre by 15-metre net was laid on the sea bed at each point at between 5 and 6 p.m. and hauled in 10 hours later by the five-man crew. The largest of the 58 sharks caught, a pointed nose, weighed 58 kilos and 2.3 metres long. Fideco research director Ghislaine Lablache said that some of the sharks would be exported on trial and some would be salted for the local market. The shark-netting trials will continue around Mahe's coast before moving to Praslin and the Amirantes group. [Text] [Victoria NATION in English 17 Mar 83 pp 1, 2]

CSO: 3400/1137

JOHANNESBURG COMMENTS ON MEDIA DISTORTION, FREEDOM

MB071855 Johannesburg International Service in English 1500 GMT 7 Apr 83

[Commentary: "Media Freedom"]

[Text] South Africa has begun to feature in a growing debate in the West on media freedom and responsibility, the debate characterized by the insistence of calls for greater discipline. It is concerned with two distinct but related issues--journalistic integrity and the role of the media in relation to state security--and in the past week, this country has been the topic in both.

Last Friday the American television station ABC transmitted a grossly distorted program on labor relations in South Africa. It has yet to respond to a demand that it honor a standing pledge to provide air time for factual reply. This week THE TIMES in London devotes an editorial to press freedom and state security in Africa, decrying the present situation in Zimbabwe, and noting what it calls the awkward truth that, despite security legislation, South Africa's press is among the freest on the continent.

But South Africa itself is a peripheral matter in the debate. The fact is that the credibility of much of the media in the Western world has reached an all-time low. Since the Yorkshire ripper case, the British Council has accused the press of prejudging issues and of distortions and outright lies. The Russian writer Aleksander Solzhenitsyn has deplored a prevailing fashion for demanding, as he put it: Absolute democracy which borders on complete licentiousness, on high treason, and on the right to destroy their own state and country.

The question of the responsibility of the media to the public order and welfare has flared up since the Falklands war and the Israeli invasion of Lebanon to evict PLO terrorist forces. Even before that, it had been raised by the Reagan administration's curtailment of reporting on intelligence matters. A response to a world-wide wave of killings of CIA agents after press leaks. It was intensified by Israel's censorship of both domestic and foreign reports of the action against the PLO. Israel has censored reports bearing on security since 1948, but the practice was extended during the fighting of political matters, such as debating the justice of it or interviewing demonstrators.

Rows in Britain over equally severe censorship in the Falklands war led Admiral of the Fleet Sir Terence Lewin to remark that the media ought to be as intent on contributing to victory as the state. The defense spokesman said: Whatever the media might think their function to be, that of the military was to protect lives and ensure victory.

What is emerging from the debate is that the freedom of the media is indivisible from the freedom of either the individual or the state. It cannot be pursued independently even to the point of endangering those freedoms. Conveying information truthfully and upholding society's fundamental demands for stable order and a democratic resolution of differences are the imperatives that define the boundaries of media freedom.

CSO: 3400/1134

FURTHER DETAILS ON 1983-84 BUDGET GIVEN

Who Gets What

Johannesburg RAND DAILY MAIL in English 31 Mar 83 p 7

[Text]

HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY. — The departments of Constitutional Development, Finance and Defence take the biggest slices of this year's R21 000-million budget. The new department of Constitutional Development and Planning, which incorporates former departments such as Statistics, and a variety of functions from other departments, had the largest single allocation at nearly R3 800-million. Nearly all of this, however, is taken by provincial subsidies totalling R3 759-million. The following are the amounts budgeted for each government department for 1983-84, with the increase or decrease from last year in brackets:

Prime Minister	R4 922 508	(R2 011 932 decrease)
Manpower	R71 090 000	(R7 844 000 increase)
Co-operation and Development	R1 593 325 000	(R288 129 000 increase)
Transport	R313 652 000	(R30 408 000 increase)
Finance	R3 721 045 000	(R479 373 000 increase)
Constitutional Development	R3 789 775 000	(R486 294 300 increase)
Foreign Affairs	R736 020 000	(R89 930 000 increase)
Internal Affairs	R1 057 178 000	(R113 970 000 increase)
Law and Order	R564 282 000	(R82 650 000 increase)
Health and Welfare	R1 330 454 000	(R164 732 000 increase)
National Education	R725 577 000	(R94 058 000 increase)
Defence	R3 092 700 000	(R424 700 000 increase)
Mineral and Energy Affairs	R534 967 000	(R57 322 000 increase)
Industries, Commerce and Tourism	R504 613 700	(R120 783 300 increase)
Justice (including Prisons)	R340 607 000	(R64 852 000 increase)
Community Development	R1 009 780 000	(R122 205 000 increase)
Environment Affairs and Fisheries	R340 482 000	(R29 018 200 decrease)
Agriculture	R467 348 000	(R83 006 500 increase)
Education and Training	R561 318 000	(R85 560 000 increase)

The rest of the budget is made up of items which do not fall directly under a government department, such as finances for the State President, Parliament and improvement of service conditions. The total budget of R21 061-million is an increase of R2 825-million over the 1982-83 budget.

Defense Gets 15.9% More

Johannesburg RAND DAILY MAIL in English 31 Mar 83 p 7

[Text]

DEFENCE expenditure for the coming financial year has been increased by 15.9% to R3 093-million.

Announcing this, Mr Horwood pointed out that the

total amount spent on defence had risen appreciably more than three times over the past eight years.

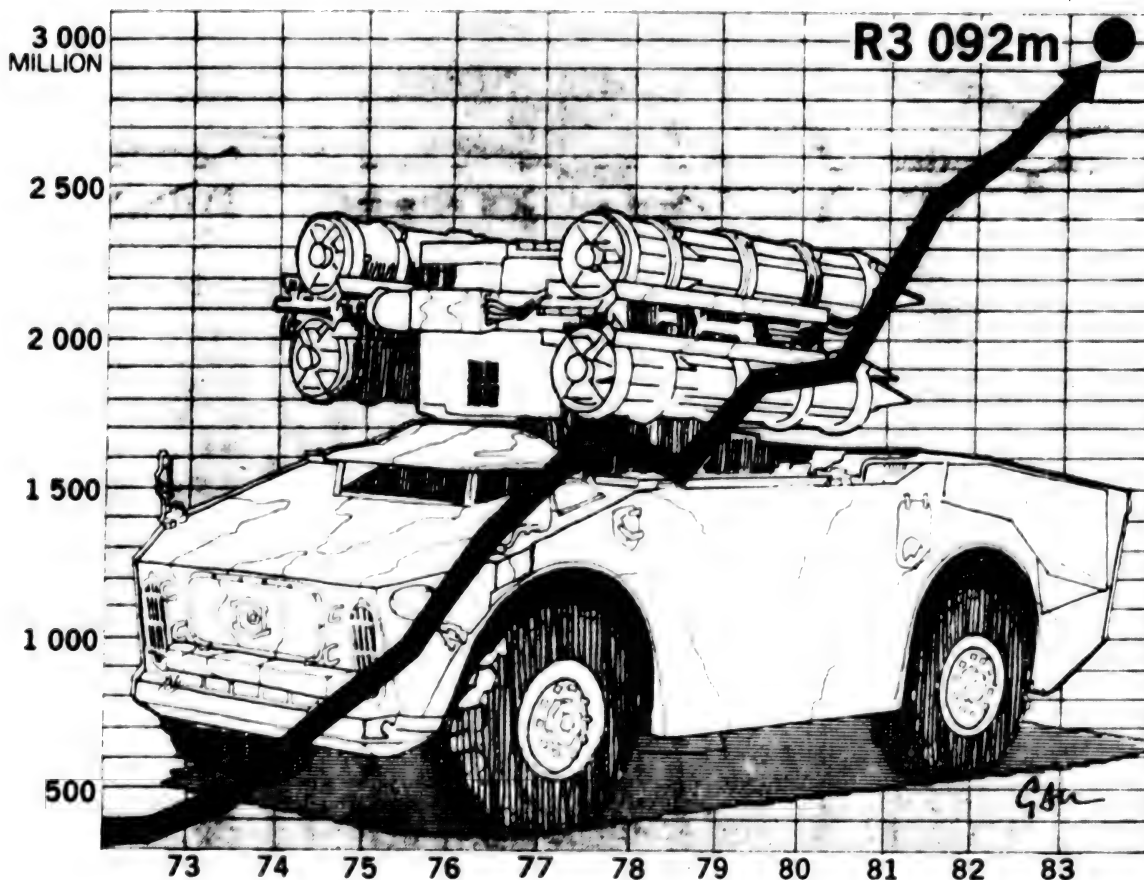
This was the case when amounts provided for other protection services were

added to amounts voted in the Budget.

Mr Horwood said the Government had always accorded top priority to a well-trained, adequately equipped and effective Defence Force

and would continue to do so as long as it was necessary.

"Equally important, in the face of an international arms boycott, is the systematic development of a modern armaments industry," he said.



'Area Defense' To Cost R1,000m

Johannesburg RAND DAILY MAIL in English 31 Mar 83 pp 7, 11

[Text]

MILITARY spending on the home front dominates the 1983/4 defence estimates, with almost one-third of the R3 093-million military budget devoted "area defence".

No less than R1 005-million has been set aside to "provide specific area protection for the RSA and SWA against an insurgency threat by means of land, air and naval forces and supporting services".

Of this sum, a massive R730 541 600 will be set aside for stores, livestock and equipment and another R193 206 700 for personnel.

Estimated total defence expenditure is up by 15.9%, or R425m, on last year's R2 668m — a hike of about 1% in real terms.

In addition, Mr Horwood has transferred R140 200 000 in surplus funds to the Defence Special Account.

Mr Horwood stressed the importance of developing an important armaments industry in the light of the international arms boycott.

But, as usual, no details of the acquisition of heavy weapons are given.

Expenditures include:

- R271 400 000 for a higher command and control structure;

- R113 600 000 for personnel;
- 1 220m for an overhead

structure to support the SADF's other objectives.

- R293 500 000 for training;
- R508 900 000 for "logistics", which includes Armscor costs;
- R481 600 000 for "landward defence";
- R179 400 000 for air defence;
- R153 500 000 for naval defence; and
- R2 115m for the purchase of stock and equipment

Essential Budget Figures

THIS table gives (in millions of rands) the main figures of the Minister of Finance, Mr Owen Horwood's Budget:

COMPARATIVE STATEMENT OF THE STATE REVENUE ACCOUNT

	Rm	Revised figure Rm	Budget figure Rm	Percent- age %
EXPENDITURE				
Printed Estimate (H.P. 2/83)				
First print			21 061	
Plus:				
Supplementary appropriations i.f.o.:				
Social pensions	95.0			
Military pensions	2.5			
Civil pensions	2.5			
Small Business Development Corporation	5.0			
Home ownership saving scheme	5.0			
Housing assistance	5.0			
			115	
Total expenditure		19 205	21 176	10.3
Revenue:				
Printed Estimate (R.P. 3/83; First Print):				
Customs and Excise at existing rates			2 000	
Less:				
Taxation proposals (i.f.o.):				
Excise duty on brandy	3.0		3	
Total for Customs and Excise		2 346	2 057	-12.3
Inland Revenue at existing rates (excluding loan levies)			17 023	
Less: Retirement benefits	7.0			
Income tax rebates for over 70's	3.0			
Donations tax	0.1			
Post Office Savings Bank	0.9		11	
			17 012	
Plus: Taxation proposals in respect of:				
Stamp duties	20.0			
General States tax on advertisements	5.0		25	
Total for Inland Revenue		15 074	17 037	13.0
Total Revenue		17 420	19 094	9.6
Deficit: (before borrowing)		1 785	2 082	16.6
Loan Redemptions:				
Domestic Loans:				
Stock		614	933	
Bonds		510	386	
Foreign Loans		529	302	
Loan Levy		239	300	
Other loan expenditures		16	20	
		1 908	1 941	1.7
FINANCING REQUIREMENT:		3 693	4 023	8.9
FINANCING:				
Domestic Loans:				
Public Debt Commissioners		1 300	1 500	
Reinvestment of maturing stock		2 823	933	
New Government Stock Issues			930	
Non-marketable Securities:				
Treasury Bonds	200.0			
Bonus Bonds	150.0			
National Defence Bonds	50.0	356	400	
Foreign Loans		676	260	
Loan Levy		170	10	
Treasury Bills		34		
Transfer to Stabilisation Account		1 650		
Surplus (carried over from previous year)		113		
TOTAL FINANCING		4 204	4 023	
BALANCE:		511	Nil	
Appropriation of Revenue:				
Transfer to Special Defence Account		140		
Transfer to Tax Reserve Account		371		
Surplus:				

CSO: 3499/1136

LAW, ORDER OFFICER DEFENDS LEGRANGE

Johannesburg SUNDAY TIMES in English 20 Mar 83 p 27

[From the Letters to the Editor: "Minister Was Not Callous"]

[Text] 'Hogarth' (Sunday Times, 13 March), criticises the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Louis le Grange, for his "hasty and insensitive response to the tragic shooting of an innocent man".

Furthermore, it is suggested that "an expression of regret and the promise of an immediate investigation would have been sufficient".

May I point out that shortly after the unfortunate incident, the Minister was informed of what had happened.

He immediately ordered not only a fullscale investigation into the circumstances surrounding the shooting, but also instructed a brigadier from another division to personally lead the investigation.

The Minister also instructed the Divisional Commissioner of Police for the Witwaterstrand, Brigadier J H du Plessis, to personally convey messages of condolences to the bereaved family on behalf of the Government, himself and the South African Police.

The Monday after the incident, it was reported in both Afrikaans and English-language newspapers throughout the country, that the Minister had ordered a top-level investigation and that he had expressed his deep concern over the death of the young father while offering his condolences to the family.

Notwithstanding the fact that the above information was also conveyed to Parliament during a snap debate on the issue the following Tuesday, you still chose to criticise the Minister almost a week later in such a way as to cast a shadow of callousness over his integrity.--Lt-Col L. Mellet, Press Relations Officer to the Minister for Law and Order.

--Lt-Col Mellet misread the paragraph, Hogarth did not imply that the Minister had not expressed his regrets nor promised an investigation, but said that these would have been "sufficient". What was deplored were Mr. le Grange's additional, insensitive, remarks.

CSO: 3400/1136

REACTIONS TO HORWOOD'S BUDGET REPORTED

Budget Criticized by Opposition

Johannesburg RAND DAILY MAIL in English 31 Mar 83 pp 7, 11

[Article by John Battersby]

[Text] Opposition spokesmen on finance last night slammed Mr Owen Horwood's lack-lustre Budget as an inadequate holding measure which failed to come to grips with the escalating problems of inflation and unemployment.

The Progressive Federal Party's chief spokesman, Mr Harry Schwarz, described the budget as a "major disappointment" which failed to come to grips with the long-term challenges facing the country.

"It could be described as a 'stand still' Budget which demonstrates neither courage nor imagination," he said.

And New Republic Party finance spokesman, Mr George Bartlett, said it was clear from the Budget that Mr Horwood was still trying to rectify the Government's past mismanagement of the economy, paying the price in the form of a continuing high inflation rate.

"In a nutshell the Minister expects South Africa to bite the bullet while the Government marks time," Mr Bartlett said.

The PFP also criticized the sharp increase in defence spending but welcomed the substantial increase in Government expenditure on education.

The party also welcomed the proposals to abolish separate taxation for blacks, the increases for social pensioners but pointed out that the money-gap between the race groups in respect to pensions and the means test would increase.

Mr Phillip Myburgh, the PFP's defence spokesman, said that the 15,9% increase in the defense budget to Rs 093-million meant that expenditure now accounted for 14,6% of the Budget compared to 13,8% last year.

He said defence expenditure while necessary was economically unproductive and hence inflationary.

Mr Horace van Rensburg, PFP spokesman on education, welcomed the 13% increase in expenditure on education to R3 410-million.

"I also welcome the assurance by the Minister that the Government will narrow the gap in per capita expenditure and educational standards between white and black."

Mr Brian Goodall, PFP spokesman on pensions, welcomed the increase in pensions which will cost the state R100-million, but called for steps to eliminate discrimination in the means test.

Consumer Council Defends Budget

Johannesburg RAND DAILY MAIL in English 31 Mar 83 p 11

[Text] The Minister of Finance, Mr Owen Horwood, had no choice but to be conservative in his Budget approach, Mr Jan Cronje, Director of the Consumer Council, said yesterday.

Mr Cronje said the country was in a recession, had an uncertain gold price, an unacceptable high inflation rate and devastating drought.

The Prime Minister had recently announced a drought aid scheme for which Mr Horwood had to find funds, Mr Cronje said.

Mr Horwood could not stimulate the economy at this stage as there was doubt over the gold price and because the fight against inflation was receiving high priority.

"It is essential that financial discipline be maintained by limiting the money supply and State expenditure."

This would place the expected upswing in the economy towards the end of this year on "a sound footing".

The Consumer Council was glad personal tax and GST were not increased. It was also glad to hear that loan levy was abolished.

Mr Cronje said tax increases would have dealt a blow to a large part of the population, especially workers in the public sector and consumers in the lower income bracket.

He welcomed loan aid and interest rate subsidies to intending home owners who applied for loans for the first time.

It was heart-warming that special attention was given to pensioners.

Mr Cronje called on all consumers, as well as trade and industry, not to harm the positive approach of this Budget by irresponsible action.

PAT SIDLEY reports that in Johannesburg there was little consumer reaction to the Budget as it was not going to materially affect most consumers.

The Housewives League said it was disappointed the Government had still not considered excluding basic foods from General Sales Tax.

"In this time of economic hardship, the lower income groups need some tangible relief which cutting basic foods out of GST would do," a spokesman said.

Mr Raymond Ackerman, chief executive of Pick 'n Pay said the Budget "certainly was mild", but he had been hoping the bread subsidy would be reintroduced.

He had expected a rise in GST, which would have been inflationary, and was "thankful" this had not come about.

"The moment the Government has any funds they must reintroduce the bread subsidy as a first priority."

Conservative, Say Bankers

Johannesburg RAND DAILY MAIL in English 31 Mar 83 p 11

[Text] The budget is conservative in substance, but has a continuously optimistic ring about it, according to Mr Andre Hamersma, group economist of Standard Bank.

Mr. Hamersma said "If the Minister can indeed limit the growth in public spending to the 10,3% rise provided for, it would be a major achievement, particularly because a large increase in expenditures on education and defence, and for drought relief are provided for."

Government revenues are notoriously difficult to forecast, but while the underlying gold price assumption of some \$370-380/oz appears to be realistic, projected rises in revenues from personal and company taxation appear somewhat optimistic.

"Apart from the actual fiscal mechanics the budget contained encouraging indications of ongoing structural adjustments to the workings of the financial system, which are designed to improve its efficiency.

"This is evidenced by the proposed amendments to building society legislation, and the transition from indirect to direct subsidisation of housing. This is in keeping with the general philosophy of the De Kock Commission."

Mr Kevin Bell, of Hill Samuel, said that, bearing in mind the intense competition between banks, it is to be hoped that building societies will rise to the challenge implicit in the impending changes to the Building Societies Act.

Mr Bell said the Budget was largely neutral and contained little drama.

The deficit is undemanding and should be financed comfortably as outlined by the Minister.

It's No Good To Us, Says Gatsha

Johannesburg RAND DAILY MAIL in English 31 Mar 83 p 7

[Text] Chief Gatsha Buthelezi said last night the cost to black people of the Government's tight economic policy was fast becoming too high.

Commenting on the Budget, the KwaZulu Chief Minister said Mr Horwood had claimed the South African economy had shown significant structural improvements over that of the previous year.

"The Budget was presented to an all-white Parliament and it may well be true that the white sector of the economy has shown significant structural improvements. But to the black man, the economy looks very different," Chief Buthelezi said.

"The holding Budget presented by Mr Horwood offered little government-led growth which we need so desperately.

"Black employment in manufacturing, mining, construction and transport has declined significantly and by September 1982--before the worst of the recession--conservative estimates of black unemployment placed 480 000 people without jobs.

Chief Buthelezi said the maintenance of a tight economic policy "is highly likely to make the situation worse".

He added: "While blacks, too, have an interest in stable prices, the cost to them of the fight against inflation is rapidly becoming too high."

CSO: 3400/1136

GENERAL QUESTIONS ON CONSTITUTIONAL REFORM PROPOSALS ANSWERED

Pretoria PHOENIX in English Feb 83 pp 2-3

[Text]

QUESTION

ANSWER

- | | |
|--|---|
| 1. Can Indians and Coloureds vote in a parliamentary election at present? | 1 No |
| 2. Can Indians and Coloureds take decisions on their own residential areas, education and welfare? | 2 No |
| 3. Can an Indian or Coloured become a member of Parliament at present? | 3 No |
| 4. Can an Indian or Coloured become a Cabinet Minister at present? | 4 No |
| 5. Has the Government made proposals to improve the political rights of Indians and Coloureds. | 5 Yes |
| 6. Do the proposals offer Indians and Coloureds political rights? | 6 Yes |
| 7. Will Indians and Coloureds be able to vote in parliamentary elections? | 7 Yes |
| 8. Will an Indian or Coloured be able to be elected to Parliament? | 8 Yes |
| 9. Will an Indian or Coloured be able to become a Cabinet Minister? | 9 Yes |
| 10. Will Indians and Coloureds be able to take decisions regarding their own residential areas, education and welfare? | 10 Yes |
| 11. Will Indians and Coloureds be able to participate in the government of the country? | 11 Yes |
| 12. How will Indians and Coloureds be accommodated in Parliament? | 12 There will be a Chamber each for Indians and Coloureds in Parliament. |
| 13. Will Whites also have a Chamber? | 13 Yes |
| 14. Why is it proposed that Parliament should have three Chambers instead of one? | 14 In a Parliament with one Chamber the majority group takes all. This means that only the Whites will constitute the government, and that Indians and Coloureds will not be able to become Ministers or to take part in the government in any other way. |

QUESTION

15. Will the Chambers of Indians and Coloureds be subordinate to that of the Whites?
16. Will the Coloured Chamber not be just another Coloured Representative Council (CRC)?
17. What powers will the Indian and Coloured Chambers have?
18. And laws that affect everyone?
19. How will the three Chambers of Parliament co-operate to make laws?
20. Will Indians and Coloureds therefore be involved in the process of resolving differences between the three Chambers?
21. What happens if the three Chambers fail to resolve their differences on a particular bill?
22. What is the President's Council?
23. Will Indians and Coloureds therefore be involved in the final decision of the President's Council?
24. Who will be the head of the country?
25. How will the President be elected?
26. Will Indians and Coloureds therefore be involved in the election of the President?
27. The Whites will constitute a majority in the electoral college. Does this not mean that the President will always be White?

ANSWER

- 15 No
- 16 No, the Chamber will be part of the Parliament
- 17 The Chambers will be able to pass laws affecting the Indians and Coloureds exclusively
- 18 The Indian and Coloured Chambers will make such laws in conjunction with the White Chamber
- 19 Before the three Chambers pass legislation, committees representing all three Chambers will first examine the legislation in order to resolve any disputes between Indians, Coloureds and Whites.
- 20 Yes
- 21 The President's Council will give a final decision
- 22 It is an advisory body comprising Indians, Coloureds and Whites.
- 23 Yes
- 24 The President
- 25 The three Chambers of Parliament delegate some of their members to a body which will elect the President.
- 26 Yes
- 27 Probably, but that is the situation at present too. The new dispensation will at least give Indians and Coloureds the opportunity of participating in the election of the President on an equitable basis.

QUESTION

ANSWER

- | | |
|--|--|
| 28. Will the President be a dictator? | 28 No |
| 29. Why not? | 29 He is elected for only five years; he cannot make laws (that is the function of Parliament); and he can be dismissed like the American president |
| 30. How will Indians and Coloureds become Ministers? | 30 The President may appoint the members of his Cabinet from all three population groups. |
| 31. Will all these Ministers serve in his Cabinet? | 31 Yes |
| 32. Will each Minister be in charge of a portfolio? | 32 Yes |
| 33. Will the President and his Cabinet be able to dictate to Indians and Coloureds what their decisions should be? | 33 No |
| 34. Why not? | 34 The Indian and Coloured Chambers will decide for themselves without interference from outside. The Indian and Coloured members of Government will also constitute separate Cabinet Committees to decide on issues affecting their own people. |
| 35. Will the present Government force Indians and Coloureds to accept the proposals? | 35 No |
| 36. Why not? | 36 The leaders of each population group will decide independently whether or not to accept the proposals. |
| 37. What is happening now with regard to the proposals? | 37 The leaders of all population groups are negotiating with the Government |
| 38. Who are negotiating on behalf of the Indian and Coloured communities? | 38 The various political parties, including the South African Indian Council, the Labour Party, the National Peoples Party as well as the Freedom Party. |

QUESTION

ANSWER

39. What is their attitude to these proposals?

39 They believe that the proposals offer a basis for the Coloureds and Indians to participate in the government of the country for the first time. Therefore, they are prepared to negotiate with the Government on the proposals.

40. Can the proposals work?

40 They can work if the Whites do not consider themselves superior to the Coloureds and Indians, and if the latter groups are prepared to co-operate with the Whites in governing the country.

41. Will the proposals allow Coloureds and Indians to improve their position with regard to housing, salaries and wages, education, sports grounds, employment opportunities and discrimination?

41 Without doubt, yes. Coloureds and Indians will be members of Parliament and the Government. Therefore, they will not only be able to state their case at the highest level of government, but also have a say in the decisions taken on these issues.

42. Will apartheid continue to exist?

42 The Government will not be able to act unjustly towards anyone on the ground of his or her colour because everyone will have a share in decision making.

CSO: 3400/1119

ADMINISTERED PRICE INCREASES SEEN CAUSING INFLATION

Johannesburg SUNDAY TIMES-BUSINESS TIMES in English 27 Mar 83 p 14

[Article by Amrit Manga]

[Text] Without far more ruthless discipline by wage and price makers, South Africa's inflation rate will continue to surge away above the rates experienced by her major trading partners.

This is the consensus among leading economists questioned by Business Times this week.

Those approached emphasised particularly the part played by administered price increases in frustrating efforts to drag annual increases in the country's consumer price index substantially below 10%.

SA's inflation rate during the past decade has been accelerating at 11,1% against an average 8,7% recorded by her main trading partners since 1970, according to the latest Bureau for Economic Research report.

Agricultural prices have increased by 330% since 1972, almost 35,7% on average a year compared with the rate of increase in the consumer price index of 12,5%.

Being one of the major representatives of administered prices, it supports a general consensus that administered prices contribute significantly to the inflationary process.

Phillip Mohr of the economic planning department, however, sees administered price, as opposed to pure market force-determined prices, as both an aggravating and an alleviating factor.

Volkskas economist Adam Jacob lists the private sector's 80% share of the economy as a starting point in the understanding of the contribution of administered price increases to the final inflation figure.

Mr Jacob points out that, with 80% of the SA economy controlled by the private sector, the effect of price adjustments would differ markedly according to the business cycle.

"During the expansionary phase of economy the private sector, in taking advantage of increased liquidity, inflated prices far beyond production input costs," says Mr Jacob.

The public sector lags behind in simply balancing input-output prices, thus reducing the impact of private-sector of private-sector price increases.

The reverse is, however, the case in the contractionary phase of the economy when slack demand and falling liquidity levels force the private sector to cut prices as market forces dictate.

The public sector, in maintaining a balance between costs and prices, continues to increase prices of transport, energy and wages.

Barclays Bank's chief economist, Johan Cloete, sees administered price increases as an integral part of the inflationary process.

Whether strengthening market forces to offset the effect of administered price increases on inflation is the answer is debatable.

Mr. Cloete says classical market forces will ultimately lead to a monopoly situation, reducing competition.

The chances of bringing inflation down to a permanently significantly reduced level are small, says the BER report. The authorities will have to bring the money supply under control, it says.

Mr Cloete points out that some of SA's major trading partners, including the US, Japan and Germany, have been unable to prevent an increase in their money supply.

"A positive growth in money supply has been recorded in these countries in spite of tough monetary policies" says Mr Cloete.

He says that lower rates of inflation in SA's trading partners can be ascribed largely to sensible policies adopted by the wage and price makers in those countries.

An anti-inflationary awareness among workers in Germany, for example, reduces the demand for excessively high wage demands.

Increased liquidity and wage increases without corresponding increases in productivity levels are two of the major contributing factors responsible for inflationary increases.

CSO: 3400/1136

NEW ALLIANCE BETWEEN ENGLISH, AFRIKANERS DISCUSSED

Johannesburg SUNDAY TIMES in English 27 Mar 83 p 32

[Report of interview with Professor Sampie Terre'Blanche by Stanley Uys: "It's Time for a New Alliance Between English and Afrikaners"]

[Text] There has been a chronic tendency in the National Party to do too little too late.

Only since the split have we really had the potential to become a reform party, and it is perhaps too early to judge whether, in the new circumstances, the Government will be able to do enough.

But I believe the New National Party, as I call it, will unleash reforming powers of unexpected dynamism and that in 10 years South Africa will be a very different country.

We can't talk about Afrikaner unity any longer. The National Party is no longer the party of Afrikaner unity. What happened last year was traumatic. There was a complete change of attitude within the NP. Afrikaner unity has been finally shattered.

English-speakers are welcome to join the National Party. About 25 percent of them supported the NP in the 1977 general elections, and possibly the same percentage in the 1981 general elections. Since the split in the NP, English-speaking support, we believe, has increased.

The NP for too long was an Afrikaner clan, and with people like Treurnicht on its right wing who would blame the English-speaker for not supporting the Government? But the situation has changed entirely.

Mr Chris Heunis (Minister of Constitutional Development) says that whenever he met a certain important English-speaking business-man, the man would say to him: "Please tell the Prime Minister I support him."

Eventually, Mr Heunis replied: "No, I will not tell him until I am sure you have voted for a National Party candidate." To which the businessman replied: "But I can't do that—I am chairman of a PFP branch."

Support in His Struggle

This is no good. If people support the Prime Minister in his initiative they must also support him in his struggle against his right wing.

It would be helpful if there was not such a clear-cut division between the NP on the one hand and the PFP and the English-language Press on the other, but the problem is that neither the PFP nor the English-language Press are being honest--they refuse to take a clear stand on what I call the economic costs of the constitutional reforms.

They have never counted the economic cost of political democratisation.

South Africa is a Third World country, with a dynamic, modern sector. But it is a very small sector considering that the total population numbers nearly 30-million.

If blacks sit in Parliament they will have the bargaining power to make all manner of demands. But the tax capacity of the economy sets important limits on constitutional and political change.

Why did Britain refuse to allow one man one vote in the 1832 Reform Acts? Because the country was still in the early stages of the industrial revolution.

It was only during the First World War that Britain and the industrialised countries got effective universal franchise.

Once a country has an electoral democracy there is inevitably a welfare state--health, education, welfare spending, medical services. The crucial factor then is whether it can afford this economic price.

After Versailles, democratic constitutions were granted to all the new countries in the Balkans and elsewhere, and all, with the exception of Hungary, became fascist.

The western countries managed to survive democratisation, except Germany, which could not withstand the economic demands created by a democratic system and turned to Nazism.

After the Second World War, democratic systems were granted to Third World countries, but hardly any of them have remained democracies.

Democracy coupled with a trade union movement generates massive demands through parliament on the economic system and only highly industrialised countries are able to support the burden.

South Africa is a limited democracy--limited to the whites. I don't think this is justified any longer. The base needs to be broadened, but in such a way and at such a pace that it does not over-stress the economy.

Scale Down Standards

Even modest reforms in South Africa would make it necessary for whites to scale down their standard of living over the next 10 or 20 years by at least 20 percent; that would be the price we would have to pay for a modest process of democratisation.

If coloureds and Indians acquired bargaining power on a Parliamentary level--and blacks for what it is worth on a confederal level--and if we wanted to spend adequately on education and on improving their quality of life, whites would not be able to maintain their present position of privilege and protection.

The way the English-language Press talks, one would imagine that if apartheid were to be lifted tomorrow, the economy would jump like a jack out of a box and there would be 10 or 15 percent growth.

There could instead be a breakdown. Even at a 15 percent growth rate, the economy would be overstrained under the demands that would come from whites and democratised blacks.

What we are engaged in, I hope, is structural reform that will at the same time clip the wings of the bargaining groups to stabilise the situation.

Dismantling Our Structure

Apartheid is more than a policy. It's a structure. And it's not possible to abolish a structure overnight.

All we can do is to start dismantling our structure over a very, very long period.

But there is no realisation of this among English-speakers--that it will necessarily have to be a long and painful process, even for the richest whites, and possibly particularly for them. The problems of South Africa cannot be solved by economic growth alone.

Consider the gap between State expenditure on whites and blacks. To close the gap, Government spending would have to be at least one-and-a-half times the GNP and this is just not possible.

For every R800 spent on a white child, less than \$100 is spent on an black child. We must close the education gap as quickly as possible.

Our growing economy needs all the skilled people it can get. We have simply not spent enough on blacks. But that kind of expenditure would put a heavy burden on the whites. Yet it will have to be undertaken: not for humanitarian reasons--we are not at that point yet--but to keep the wheels of this capitalist economy turning.

Even that would not be enough. We would have to improve housing, transport, recreational and other facilities for the newly skilled people.

All the services, like pensions, for which the Government is responsible reflect discrimination. But equalisation at this stage is just not possible.

All we can do at this stage is to narrow the gap, and whites must realise they will have to take a knock and make big sacrifices.

Many English-speakers will accept this but many others often dismiss the Prime Minister's initiative as "cosmetic".

Have they done their homework on the economic implications of putting too much bargaining power too early in the hands of poor and unproductive people?

The Government's constitutional reforms are much more significant than is generally recognised. Once they get off the ground and acquire their own momentum, they are going to be truly significant.

Favourite Demand

Another favourite demand of the PFP and the English-language Press is for civil rights without discrimination. Discrimination can be abolished though only if there is one man one vote.

Personally, I don't like discrimination. I admit there are indefensible forms of it, but I also believe it is possible to give apartheid a more human face, and I hope that is what is happening now.

If the Government meets the PFP's demands there will be an economic collapse, a breakdown in civilised standards. Here, I am not talking about the white man's luxurious lifestyle, but about South Africa's civilised standards, as in industrialised, Western-orientated country.

As whites we are all terribly spoiled. To bring about revolutionary change we will need to change the hearts and minds of whites, and this will take a long time. For this we will need the help of the Afrikaans churches, whose role will be crucial.

Unfortunately the hierarchial structure of the Dutch Reformed Churches is very right-wing orientated. The Church is part of the structure that has to be changed, because the Church legitimises the system.

When the Prime Minister says the status quo has to change, he means the values which support the status quo are no longer valid.

The NP in the 1977 general election secured the support of 66 percent of voters. It was a coalition of three groups: an enlightened group, a centre group and the right wing--each of, say, 22 percent.

It was the right wing, though, that actually set the pace, because its organisational base was very strong; in the NP parliamentary caucus, the Cabinet, the Church, the public service, cultural organisations. All were interlaced like a stone wall.

Only when Mr Botha, thanks to the Information scandal, became Prime Minister, did the group ratios in the NP change.

The NP got rid of its right wing and that stone wall conservatism was broken.

There are still many tensions in the NP at different levels, but since the split it is no longer an Afrikaner clan. It is now an ordinary political party, like the Conservative Party in Britain.

The NP will need the support of English-speakers, but there is no chance of a coalition. The NRP might dissolve itself and walk over to the Government, but at this stage there is no possibility whatsoever of an NP coalition with the PFP because of the wholly different philosophies of the two.

Stumbling Block

The PFP and the English-language Press, with the possible exception of the Sunday Times, Mr Harry Schwarz and Dr F van Zyl Slabbert, have become a stumbling block in the path towards reform, because they want to go too far too fast.

Reform is realistic when you accept that there are limits--that South Africa can proceed up to a certain point at this stage, and then to a further point at a later stage, but that we dare not undermine the country's stability all at once.

The Prime Minister is committed to long term, fundamental change. The present Cabinet, too, is the most enlightened one since 1948.

We desperately hoped for a split last year. It was a pity the split did not take place 10 years ago.

Until the split, the parliamentary opposition played an important role in keeping the Government on its toes. But--and this is our argument with the too enlightened colleagues, like Dr Hermann Giliomee, Dr Andre du Toit and Dr Van Syl Slabbert--they don't realise we are busy with a whole new ball game.

We have made adaptations, but the PFP have not adapted. Because they have not, they have become a stumbling block. Their demands are unrealistic.

Since the split in the NP we have a New National Party. Now what we need is a New PFP. This could bring about the political orientation South Africa needs.

CSO: 3400/1136

CONCERN ABOUT UNDERUTILIZATION OF WALVIS HARBOR VOICED

Walvis Bay NAMIB TIMES 22 Mar 83 p 4

[Text] Facilities Available Are Of The Best

"Walvis Bay belongs to South Africa. Our possession of it is based on an internationally recognised treaty," the South African Minister of Foreign Affairs and Information, Mr. R. F. 'Pik' Botha told Dr. Ian Butterfield of influential United States Heritage Foundation in Washington earlier this year.

The conversation between Mr. Botha and Dr. Butterfield was published recently in US Policy Review!

Mr. Botha posed the question--"Can you imagine the situation with the Red Flag flying in Windhoek and Walvis Bay, the only deep sea port in the territory? Certainly, Walvis Bay then will be under threat of seizure, so South Africa will be obliged to plan actions which may cause a serious upheaval in Southern Africa.

"However, we have interests here, just as the United States has interests in its part of the world. Look what the United States did when its safety was first threatened from Cuba. Look at the way you reacted, retecting your interests within your own hemisphere.

"You claimed this a right in your part of the world, and we claim it in ours," Mr. Botha said.

West Coast Ports

Walvis Bay is one of South Africa's west coast ports and is situated virtually in the centre of the South West African coastline.

The harbour is the centre of the pilchard fishing industry, the principal exports through the harbour being fish products and minerals mined in the hinterland.

It has been used as the main harbour for the geographical area of South West Africa since it was first annexed by Great Britain in 1878 and transferred to the Cape Colony in 1884.

The first improvement comprised a wooden T-jetty, which could serve small coasting craft, at the end of what is today 5th Road.

With the closure of Swakopmund as a harbour at the end of the First World War and the transfer of all shipping activities to Walvis Bay the place became a port of considerable importance.

In the late 1920s three deep-water berths were completed (the present Hofmeyr Quay now being rebuilt) were constructed. There was much talk of a railway link with Central Africa and in fact a start was made with the construction of the Windhoek-Gobabis railway line.

The harbour was used extensively for the export of frozen meat, mainly to Europe up until the Second World War. During the war the harbour was of vital strategic importance to the defence of the Southern Atlantic and many convoys were assembled in the large bay here.

The 1950's saw major developments take place in South West Africa and the three berths were unable to cope with the traffic. At times ships had to wait up to a fortnight for a berth.

In the period 1958-1963 major extensions were carried out which provided an additional five berths and a special tanker berth as well as the complete re-modelling of the marshalling yards and railway station.

Rationalisation and Containerisation

The end of the 1960s saw rationalisation of activities by shipping companies and fewer ships called but those that did put in took bigger volumes of cargo.

The 1970s saw the era of containerisation which in turn led to a further cut-back in the number of ships calling but the same tonnage of cargo being handled faster and more economically.

Today it is a source of concern that the Walvis Bay harbour is so very under utilised, placed at something like working to only 20 percent capacity.

The bulk of the shipping using the port are foreign trawlers and reefers. There is a weekly coaster container service and a twice monthly ro-ro service. An occasional break-bulk vessel calls at the port.

Walvis Bay Harbour Facilities

The harbour at Walvis Bay has the following facilities:

--Eight berths with a total length of wharfage of 1414,28 m and a depth at Chart Datum of 10,07 to 10,68 metres.

--There are 20 electric wharf cranes with a lifting capacity of between four and 15 tons.

--There is 10 212,6 sq. m. of floor space for cargo in sheds. The cubic capacity of the sheds (based on stacking height of 3,43 m) is 35 029,2 cubic metres. There is 5708 sq.m. of uncovered ore platforms while there is ample storage available for rough goods.

--Fresh water can be supplied at a rate of 15 tons per hour.

--The entrance channel is 3 436,3m long and 134 m wide, with a depth of 10,07 m. at Chart Datum.

--The harbour is served by two first-class tugs equipped with radar, radio telephone, direction finding apparatus, salvage and fire-fighting appliances, one pilot tug, one pilot launch and two harbour launches.

--There is a 40-ton hopper and one combined grab dredger/anchor barge (which is not self-propelled).

--Sufficient mechanical appliances of capacities ranging from four tons to 35 tons are available for the handling of general cargo.

CSO: 3400/1136

MISSILE RANGE SITE WILL STAY, SAYS ARMSCOR

Johannesburg THE STAR in English 29 Mar 83 p 10M

[Article by John Fensham]

[Text] Cape Town--Armcor's proposed new missile testing range will not be moved from the area between Waenhuiskrans and Cape Infanta, even if an official environmental impact study predicts ecological damage through military use.

The size of the 40 000 ha range and the level of activities could, however, be scaled down.

This was spelt out by the head of Armcor, Commandant Piet Marais, and his executive general manager, Mr Fred Bell, at a Press conference in Cape Town.

"There is simply no alternative terrain," Commandant Marais said.

He stressed that no land whatever had been acquired for the proposed missile range, and none would be acquired until the results of the study, to be done by the Department of Environmental Conservation and Fisheries, had been released.

"If this study indicates that our activities in the area could have a negative effect on the environment, we will have to re-examine our priorities and perhaps scale down the level of our operations," Commandant Marais said.

"Using a team of our local and overseas specialists armed with a carefully compiled list of priorities, we inspected the entire Republic--and the choice finally fell on two separate areas between Waenhuiskrans and Cape Infanta, with the De Hoop reserve untouched in between.

The major area of activity--where workshops, laboratories, instrument installations and the firing range itself will be situated--will be between Arniston and Skipskop, with missiles being fired across the bay to the area between Vaalkrans and Bloukrans.

To ensure safety, an area of about 6 000 ha bordering the De Hoop beach will be subject to periodic closure during test firing, which could amount to no more than a few days each year.

"We will not directly use any area of the De Hoop reserve," Commandant Marais said. "The area designated along the beach has simply been earmarked as a temporary safety zone.

"This Armscor project will, however, mean a huge economic injection for the area, because large amounts of building, road and electrical installation and maintenance will be needed to get the project off the ground, and the large pool of local labour will be used for this."

He anticipated that the project would take up to five years.

"The anxiety of conservationists, landowners and the public at large about this project is understandable, but that anxiety would not exist if people had all the facts. Premature news of the project has created a situation without all the facts at hand, and we hope this Press conference will go some way towards clearing up any misunderstanding," he said.

The Minister of Defence, General Magnus Malan, faced more questions from Opposition defence and environment spokesmen in the Assembly.

He told Mr Philip Myburgh (PFP, Wynberg) that landowners and other people living on the land affected would be required to move once the land had been acquired by his department. State-owned land was also involved.

Compensation would be paid to all landowners.

CSO: 3400/1136

ARMSCOR RANGE PLAN DRAWS LOUD PROTESTS

Johannesburg THE STAR in English 26 Mar 83 p 3

[Text] Cape Town--The protest against Armscor's plan to have a testing range on the southern Cape coast gained momentum today with another 4 400 people adding their names to petitions being circulated in the affected Boland area and in Cape Town.

A total of about 6 500 people have put their names to petitions in the Cape Province.

Three thousand landowners and people who will be affected by the scheme have now signed the petition in the Skipskop-Bredasdorp area.

Petitions circulated in the southern suburbs of Cape Town and bearing more than 1 800 signatures have already been sent to the Progressive Federal Party spokesman on Defence, Mr Philip Myburgh.

Entitled: "Save our Cape South Coast", the petition calls on the Minister of Defence to keep Armscor out of the area.

The petitions were drawn up by conservationists, nature lovers and Cape Town residents who own property in the Arniston, Skipskop and Potberg areas.

Two separate petitions circulating in the University of Cape Town have so far collected another 1 900 signatures.

One of the petitions has been launched under the auspices of the university's Wildlife Society and has collected 1 600 signatures in only a few days.

In the Boland and the Overberg farmers and syndicates who have shares in farmland in the affected area met yesterday to discuss details of Armscor's plans.

There is widespread concern among farmers of all political persuasions who own land in the area that they were not approached by the Government on the matter and that there was no negotiation.

Meanwhile, military sources have cast doubt on the claim that fires would be prevented by using only small quantities of explosives in the warheads of the rockets tested in the proposed south Cape firing range.

According to the sources, the major danger of fire came from the combination of the explosives and the rocket fuel used to propel the rockets.

Fynbos, highly vulnerable to destruction by fire, was far more likely to suffer severe damage from the firing of rockets than the public had been led to believe, said the sources, who pointed out that fires had been prevented at the St Lucia rocket testing range only because the landing sites were located in marshy areas.

Conservationists have fired another volley in the row by pointing out that the soil structure of the South Coast area was extremely fragile and was likely to suffer badly under the impact of wheeled vehicles.

CSO: 3400/1136

SACOS ADOPTS NEW STRATEGY

Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English 30 Mar 83 p 4

[Article by Mono Badela]

[Text]

THE NON-RACIAL South African Council on Sport (Sacos) is fully geared to involve itself at grassroots level with the masses from black townships such as Soweto.

This was spelt out this week by the new chairman of the anti-apartheid movement, Mr Frank van der Horst. The Cape Town-based civil engineer succeeded Mr Morgan Naidoo of Natal as head of Sacos at an annual conference held in Cape Town recently.

In an interview Mr van der Horst told The SOWETAN that Soweto Day this year would be observed by a minute's silence on the first weekend nearest June 16 and 17. He said Sacos was trying to give recognition to the oppressed and exploited sports persons who played under very poor facilities

and who sacrificed much for the struggle.

Explaining the new move by Sacos, Mr van der Horst said there would now be a greater involvement with the masses from townships like Soweto.

"We agree there was not total involvement with the oppressed and we will be looking into this as a matter of urgency. There will in future be greater involvement with our people from ghettos because their struggle is our struggle," he said.

He said Sacos would now concentrate a lot on talking and educating people at grassroots

level. He emphasised there would be no change from the course Sacos had chosen.

"We must move into the locations, compounds and even enter the homelands," he said.

He said it was essential that Sacos broke the artificial barriers between so called black townships and other group areas. Sports bodies under Sacos should link themselves with community bodies, progressive trade unions which are championing the cause of the workers, the civic bodies as well as youth and student organisations.

CSO: 3490/1116

MOTLANA HITS OUT AT FREE MARKET SYSTEM

Johannesburg SOWETAN in English 30 Mar 83 p 1

[Text]

SOUTH AFRICA's free market system was a fraud because it discriminated against blacks, Dr Nthato Motlana, chairman of the Committee of Ten, said in Johannesburg this week.

He was addressing about 800 people at the launching of a black company, Get Ahead Limited, at the Carlton Hotel on Monday night. He is one of the directors of the new company.

Dr Motlana said talk that this country adhered to the free enterprise system was a

"bluff".

"Blacks are not allowed to trade in places like the Johannesburg Central Business District while other races operate businesses freely in the townships," he added.

Although the country's free enterprise system was a "fraud", he said, this did not mean "we should sit back and fold our arms". He viewed the company as a new vehicle that would fight for a better deal for black entrepreneurs in the market system.

"Time has come for blacks to uplift themselves and improve their status. We need to get the little cake from the economy of the country for our own people," he added.

A director of the company, Mr Colin Hall, said his company would create new opportunities for blacks to enter more freely into the mainstream of business in this country. He said the company, if possible, would also contribute to the education of black children.

CSO: 3400/1116

SOUTH AFRICA

ARREST IN DENMARK RESULTS IN REVEALING DETAILS OF ARMS BUYING

Copenhagen INFORMATION in Danish 5-6 Feb 83 p 6

[Article by Maria Cuculiza and Alex Frank Larsen: "South African Weapons Gang Behind Concealed Million in Shipowner's Dressing Gown"]

[Text] Secret agents helped Trigon break through the iron curtain and the UN boycott.

It was a coup in broad daylight.

On Wednesday, 5 January, nine criminal police from the bunco squad drove up before the white villa belonging to the Trigon Shipping Company at Vedbaek Strandvei 421.

They came to arrest the leader of the shipping company and search the company and the private villa across the street.

Under violent protest the 61-year-old shipowner was escorted to a cell at the Copenhagen Police Headquarters, while the remaining policemen dived into the extensive account books.

Four hours later the detectives left the house, taking 12 cartons of papers concerning the firm's arms shipments to South Africa.

Two years after having been buried in a ministerial drawer the Trigon case was back on the police blotter again.

The great coup by the bunco police on that day was not in the 12 cartons. It was not even in the long-prepared arrest, or the simultaneous search at the home of his lawyer in Osterbro or at the home of his former companion in the colony of overseas Danes under the Spanish sun at Malaga.

It was in the shipowner's dressing gown.

Here the police found a slip of paper which is one of the most important keys to the understanding of the little Danish shipping company's role as shipper to South African military might.

Trust

From the discreet villa in Vedbaek the two Danish shipowners have come into public notice in a great political drama about South Africa's billions in purchases of modern war material from Communist and Western weapon industries, the largest evasion maneuver in the history of the UN.

The shipowner's dressing gown is one of the more unusual accessories in this power play of Africa's white bastion.

From a slip of paper in the pocket it was shown that the shipowner should pay his former charterer 100,000 dollars "as full and final settlement" of their outstanding account. The amount should be paid in five installments of 20,000 dollars, and according to deletions on the bill the charterer had received 80,000 dollars.

The charterer himself remembered only having received 60,000-70,000 dollars.

He explained that 3 days after the search in Vedbaek, when on his 38th birthday he avoided arrest and imprisonment in southern Spain by voluntarily accompanying two Danish officials from his home in Benalmadena to a preliminary hearing at Nytorv in Copenhagen.

Before a single dollar was paid, the charterer had in advance acknowledged receipt of the million Danish kroner. That indicates, noted the prosecutor in the case, deputy public prosecutor Jorn Hald, a rather unusual fiduciary relationship between the shipowner and his former charterer and partner.

The depth of that confidence is illustrated also by the fact that the two were not officially on speaking terms, since they broke off their cooperation in late 1980, a few months after the first press reports of the Trigon arms shipments to South Africa. Even though the charterer has lived since December 1980 near the shipowner's vacation home on the Spanish Costa del Sol, they carefully avoided each other. The exception was one day in February 1982 when they made their reciprocal agreement.

Of the 100,000 dollars the charterer, according to the agreement with Trigon Shipping Company, would have the last 20,000 deposited in January of this year in an account in the Banque Internationale in Luxembourg.

The economic structure surrounding these funds forms part of the charges by the bunco police against the two directors for unlawful arms transport, and also for fraud or fraud committed by an agent on his principal against shareholders in the Trigon Shipping Company.

The circle includes several of the shipowner's friends from the Danish colony in southern Spain and the Copenhagen Golf Club at Eremitagen. The largest shareholder is Director Erik Poulsen of Marbella, whose name is

inscribed in Danish shipping history and on the side of a Trigon ship after the sudden name change in Piraeus of the coaster "Sarah Trigon" during an arms voyage. Since then it has sailed under the name "Sarah Poulsen."

Cargo

In brief the situation looks like this: For a number of years the share-owned shipping firm Trigon has transported so-called general cargo to South Africa, among other places. This has taken place under its own name, or through one of the correspondent shipowners' private broker firms V. Tholanders Eftf., Ajfos or Bulow. The shipments were completely legal and have not caused other worry than the shareholders' annual quarrel over tax returns.

Beginning with Denmark's adherence to the UN's binding arms boycott of South Africa in 1977--and the Royal Danish Decree in May of the following year--these shipments became illegal when the same general cargo could be included under the heading of "weapons, war material and related material of all kinds."

Before the adoption of the decree the Trigon Shipping Company in 1973 set up a combined partnership, Trigon Chartering I/S, separate from the parent company. It was used to accumulate possible extra income from shipments to South Africa, which suddenly zoomed up with the international price curves.

For a shipment by so-called time charter, Trigon typically received 1400 dollars per ship per day. The funds were deposited in one of the company's 18 accounts in the Handelsbanken. They went for the operation of the shipping company and the surplus was divided among the shareholders.

But in addition to these funds the director of Trigon and the charterer also received a special 200 dollars per ship per day. With 6 ships on the South Africa trade this was about 8000 Danish kroner per day.

In addition there was the bonus from chartering the ships of two other Danish shipowners, Vesta in Svendborg and H. K. Jensen in Farum.

In this way the two shipowners received at least 420,000 dollars unbeknownst to Trigon's other shareholders. That is in conflict with Trigon Chartering's contract, in which the two partners pledged themselves to only earn money from foreign ships which the Vedbaek firm is not managing.

The amounts were paid out in advance to Trigon Chartering I/S and divided between the two partners via bank accounts in Spain, Luxembourg, Belgium and the United States.

Payment

During the hearings in Copenhagen City Court 2nd Division the charterer explained that the extra funds were a bonus to him and the shipowner for

"extra services" to the firm which chartered Trigon's ships. The funds had nothing to do with the Trigon Shipping Company, he explained. They only concerned the special Trigon Chartering, which the two leaders alone owned.

"Did they not receive the funds because the voyages had something to do with shipping weapons to South Africa?" asked prosecutor Jorn Hald.

"No. It was for services of telephone, telex and time. You could not expect us to work for nothing."

"But 1400 to 1500 kroner per ship per day? That is a lot of money for telexes to a ship," continued Hald.

"Of course it is not wrong to earn money," answered the charterer.

Panic

The police do not believe the explanation by the accused.

In a later hearing the charterer admitted that he and the bookkeeper--who is also his wife--in accordance with an agreement with the Trigon owner, destroyed about 170 ledger cards in Trigon's bookkeeping records and replaced them with false vouchers instead.

The ledger cards originated in the second half of 1980 and all dealt with the current chartering of the Trigon ships to the Liberian company, Zeefeldt. Trigon's vouchers for the charters were burned and the accounts transferred to a large joint account under the designation "various expenses and freights."

According to the charterer, this destruction was a "panic action" caused by the first press report of the shipping company's connection with arms smuggling to South Africa.

The owner denied having been involved in advance. When he later became oriented, he found that it would be "correct to put everything into a joint account," as he explained it in court.

The falsification took place in the 17 days which the Lyngby Police permitted to go by from the notification to the shipping company to the interrogation of the two directors in the summer of 1980. This was disclosed after the search last month.

Among the many hastily reconstructed ledger cards which the bunco police experts from the auditing firm Seier-Petersen retrieved from the cartons from Vedbaek, was also account number 219, marked "Mulack."

At the hearing the charterer was asked if he knew anyone with the name Mulack.

"Yes, he is a German."

"What does he do?"

"A little of everything."

"Is he a businessman?"

"Yes, you could say that."

The Businessman

Peter Oscar Mulack is a known figure among international arms dealers, sometimes better known by his false name Samuel Goldstein. That implies a Jewish connection, which the white-haired Prussian by no means has.

The 62-year-old multimillionaire lives today in the United States, in the well-guarded and TV-watched prosperous complex known as "Tower 41" in Miami, where no visitor is admitted unless escorted by an armed guard.

After flight from an unfinished trial and possible sentence to 18 months for illegal arms sales to Lebanon's Christian militia, Mulack feels less welcome in his German fatherland than under Florida's sun where after a heart operation he is resting with his girlfriend Sigrid Warton in his seven-room apartment on Pine Tree Drive, or on the large property on Old Cutlet Bay farther up along the coast.

Like other dealers in explosive hardware Mulack derives comfort from his alarm systems. After a skirmish with the Bulgarian intelligence service Mulack now also has direct alarm signals from the apartment and the luxury cabin cruiser to his private secretary and her husband one mile from there. No stranger is allowed to touch his car, even if that results in water damage, as the time his basement garage was flooded and his silver-gray Mercedes damaged, while Mulack himself hid for a short time in the Bahamas from his Bulgarian trackers.

The Cargo

Mulack's intense relationship with the Bulgarian secret service is a direct result of his connection to the Trigon Shipping Company in Vedbaek.

Peter Oscar Mulack was the middleman for the sensational export of East European arms to the apartheid government in South Africa, in which Danish shipowners played a prominent role. Each cargo had a value of between 8 and 20 million dollars.

The transport was mainly by ship from Trigon or Ajfos, as it was called in its dealings with Mulack.

At least seven of them involved weapon smuggling, which the bunco police are now investigating in the Trigon affair. The cargo was war material from Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, the Soviet Union or other East European countries.

The cargoes contained Soviet AK-47 rifles, hand-held RPG-7 rockets, grenades, TM-46 antitank mines plus ammunition for heavy artillery and small arms. Since 1976 the five largest cargoes of arms to South Africa have come from Bulgaria.

East bloc violation of the UN arms boycott is in clear conflict with their official position toward South Africa and their official policy as a whole.

A number of the sold Kalachnikov rifles have been sent further from the apartheid country to Jonas Savimbi's rebel forces in the Unita movement. They fight from southern Angola against the MPLA forces in Luanda, which are supported militarily by the Soviet Union and Cuba. The Soviets see the pressure from Savimbi as a means of ensuring the dependence of Angola on Moscow, according to the German weekly magazine DER SPIEGEL.

Some of the East bloc ammunition is used by South Africa's own troops, while hand weapons such as the Soviet 12-bore Baikal is in heavy demand on the growing South African market for arming private homes. The English author Anthony Sampson estimates that half of South Africa's import of hand weapons in the late 1970's came from Communist countries.

Connection

Peter Oscar Mulack was the businessman who, with the necessary discretion, could bring together the need of the Communist countries for Western currencies and South Africa's desire for weapons outside the UN boycott.

The disclosure of his role as arms merchant between Colonel Qadhafi's Libya and the IRA in Northern Ireland in 1974 has not destroyed the former lumberjack's connections on the spacious market for powder and ball. Against a fee of 15 percent of the price of the cargo he would undertake to deliver the goods to the customer's door, sometimes assisted by his countryman Heinz Pollmann, who works in Madrid for the semipublic weapons firm Atlantico, or the Yugoslav Miliangos, who after a time as a plastics manufacturer in Switzerland has settled down in Monaco and conducts his arms trade from his firm in Hamburg.

Mulack was owner of Entwicklung und Metallbau in Frankfurt, and Universum SA in Geneva. In addition he owns Senator Investments Ltd. on the tax-free Cayman Island in the Caribbean.

As transporters he used the paper company Yucca Properties with a false address in London, and a more realistic headquarters in a post office box at his office at Kronenbergerstrasse 30 in Frankfurt, and later at the home of Mrs. Derringer, his private secretary in Miami.

During meetings between Mulack and the two Danish shipowners in Tivoli, Vedbaek and other European checkpoints, details were agreed upon concerning shipping. This cooperation later became known in international shipping circles as "The Copenhagen Connection."

The linkage to the weapons went through Mulack's contacts in Vienna. Here Peter Oscar Mulack alias Samuel Goldstein derived a multiple bonus from his former days as a seller of East European swine heads to the West.

The two Trigon shipowners' dividend from these connections became a path leading to shipments from the Black Sea to the Republic of South Africa.

The credit for this can not only be ascribed to their mutual trust, however unbreakable it is finally expressed in the shipowner's dressing gown.

The credit must be shared with Mulack and his contacts in Vienna. It is an interesting cooperation between Austrian meat dealers and agents from the Bulgarian secret service.

Trigon Voyages to South Africa

The following voyages enter into the case against the Trigon Shipping company. They all took place after the approval of the UN weapon embargo and the adoption of the Danish law in May of 1978:

<u>Ship</u>	<u>Date</u>	<u>Destination</u>
Sarah Poulsen	Oct 78	From Bulgaria to Durban
Lenna Trigon	Dec 78	Unknown route
Lenna Trigon	Jan 79	From Mauritius to Durban
Hanne Trigon	Feb 79	Unknown route
Aries Trigon	May 79	From Belgium to Durban
Hanne Trigon	Jun 79	From Portugal to Capetown
Hanne Trigon	Oct 79	From Rumania to Durban
Hanne Trigon	Jan 80	From Portugal to Capetown
Lenna Trigon	Jan 80	From Bulgaria to Durban
Aries Trigon	Jan 80	From Rumania to Durban
Alice Trigon	Jan 80	From Portugal to Capetown
Sarah Poulsen	Feb 80	From Belgium to Durban
Hanne Trigon	Mar 80	From Portugal to Durban
Lenna Trigon	Apr 80	From Bulgaria & Rumania to Walvis Bay
Alice Trigon	May 80	From Portugal to Durban
Sarah Poulsen	Jun 80	From Italy & Yugoslavia to Durban
Golf Trigon	Jul 80	From Bulgaria to unknown port in South Africa

9287

CSO: 3613/73

PAPER URGES 'MONROE DOCTRINE' FOR SOUTHERN AFRICA

Pretoria PHOENIX in English Feb 83 p 4

[Text]

HERE are growing parallels between the security role of the United States in South and Central America and that of South Africa in this part of the world. The correspondence arises from similar motives - the promotion of stability and the strengthening of democratic forces against communist subversion - and it is being reinforced by the commitment of the United States itself to those goals for Southern Africa. From that joint commitment is emerging a Monroe Doctrine for the region.

It is taking shape as new developments lead to a more comprehensive enunciation of the strategy for regional security. Foreign Minister Pik Botha gave warning to Cuba that the stationing of Cuban troops in Mozambique would not be tolerated. President Castro should not attempt to use false allegations of a massing of South African troops as a pretext for sending Cuban soldiers also to that Southern African country.

The warning was a logical extension of the South African stand that as a destabilising force Soviet surrogates in Angola must be removed before there can be a settlement in South West Africa. It is based on a perception that peace and stability in the subcontinent require effective action against alien military force - a perception that is shared by the United States government. Regional security, as Vice President Bush emphasised repeatedly on his recent African tour, can only be achieved by putting an end to foreign intervention.

As the most advanced and powerful state in the region South Africa has a special responsibility towards it, as the United States has long had towards its own continent. President Reagan has just renewed the undertaking with an assurance to six Central American leaders of his

government's firm support against political and economic subversion and what he described as the Soviet Union's counterfeit revolution of territorial conquest, coercion and thought control. Clearly the Monroe Doctrine has lost none of its force. A century and a half ago President James Monroe declared that any imperialist action in the Americas would be regarded by the United States as "dangerous to our peace and safety". Since then the nature of the outside threat has changed radically, but the commitment has remained. With the rise of Soviet imperialism after the second World War Secretary of State John Foster Dulles laid down as fundamental in United States foreign policy its objection to the imposition of communist governments in the region.

The policy was implemented in measures against Cuba that are still enforced, and by President John Kennedy in preventing the installation of Soviet nuclear missiles in its new puppet state in 1962.

The policy was founded in the belief, thoroughly vindicated over the years, that the Americans cannot achieve stability and progress while foreign powers are permitted to exploit internal tensions for their own ends. That is also the rationale behind South Africa's strategy for stability and progress in Southern Africa. The strategy includes a willingness to provide aid and co-operation in all fields to assist in the strengthening of the countries individually and collectively. At the same time it recognises that all such efforts are made futile by the intervention of the Soviet Union and its surrogates in the region's affairs.

A Monroe Doctrine is needed for Southern Africa. If Cuban troops are intolerable in Angola they are no less so in Mozambique or any other country in the region.

'LARGE NUMBER' OF URANIUM MINERS REFUSE TO WORK

MB111458 Johannesburg Domestic Service in English 1115 GMT 11 Apr 83

[Text] Police in Welkom have arrested five workers at the Biesa uranium mine near the city, and a large number of workers are reported to have been dismissed for refusing to work underground.

The chief of the criminal investigation department in the northern free state, Maj Koos Calitz, says the police were summoned to the mine when several workers began agitating. The workers apparently refused to go underground because of the methane gas explosion in the No. 1 shaft of the mine on Friday in which 16 workers were killed and 50 injured.

Several of the buildings at the mine were damaged in the unrest this morning, and the contents of the store room were destroyed when the building was set on fire. (Major Calitz) says that the damage has been put at more than 100,000 rand. The police are detaining the five miners on charges of public violence.

CSO: 3400/1160

SOUTH AFRICA

PIK BOTHA UNAWARE OF 'STATE OF WAR WITH LESOTHO'

MB111756 Johannesburg SAPA in English 1708 GMT 11 Apr 83

[Text] Cape Town, 11 Apr, SAPA--The South African government was not aware that a state of war existed between South Africa and Lesotho, the Minister of Foreign Affairs and Information, Mr Pik Botha, said tonight.

"Neither are the 141,000 Lesotho citizens who work in the Republic of South Africa," he said.

Mr Botha was commenting on allegations by the Prime Minister of Lesotho, Chief Leabua Jonathan, that his country was now faced with war with South Africa.

"The South African government is, however, aware of serious divisions which exist within Lesotho itself," Mr Botha continued.

"Lesotho is at war with itself and the South African government hopes that the leaders of that country will find a way of returning to a condition of peace and stability."

CSO: 3400/1160

SOUTH AFRICA

SECURITY POLICE DISRUPT UNION CONGRESS

MB111559 Umtata Capital Radio in English 0600 GMT 11 Apr 83

[Text] In Port Elizabeth security police action has disrupted the congress of a major trade union. Guest speaker at the Third Congress of the Motor Assembly and Component Workers' Union was to be SACOS [expansion unknown] President, (Frank Van der Horst). He was detained and questioned by police before he could reach the Congress. He also made a statement. (Van der Horst) was later released.

Security police spokesperson (in Van Rensburg) has also confirmed that many whites, indians and coloreds were turned away from the congress because they had no permits to enter the New Brighton townships. Three vans carrying TV crews were also stopped from entering. WACUSA [expansion unknown] has alleged another guest speaker, Natal Indian Congress President (Zac Jaboc), was refused entry to New Brighton, and that teargas was used by police in the hall.

CSO: 3400/1160

'MYSTERIOUS ESCAPE' OF ALLEGED SAP MEN SAID TO EMBARRASS LESOTHO

Johannesburg SOWETAN in English 30 Mar 83 pp 7, 6

[Text]

MASERU — The mysterious escape of seven alleged South African policemen from Lesotho Police custody has acutely embarrassed the Maseru Government and provoked the question did they ever exist?

The seven were seized after Lesotho Police intercepted a gang of saboteurs who were about to blow up "electricity installations" on Saturday night, Foreign Minister Evaristus Sekhonyana told The SOWETAN Foreign Service in an exclusive interview.

He said the SAP men had acted as their colleagues did on the eve of the Maseru raid of December 9. They had lolled around Maseru hotels in plain clothes with hired cars.

The SAP seven's purpose was to "follow up" the saboteurs either by helping with transport, or giving orders or making "observations", the Minister said.

The interrogation of the saboteurs led to the arrest of the South Africans, he said, which was followed on Sunday by

the rounding up of "LLA collaborators" in Maseru. During this last operation, Lieutenant Colonel B Thakalekoala of the Lesotho Police was shot and wounded (he is now in the Queen Elizabeth Hospital) and arms, ammunition and explosives were seized.

RELEASED

The Government was said to have told foreign embassies of their SAP catch. But Monday's 1pm news bulletin on Radio Lesotho revealed the alleged SAP men had been "released" without authorisation.

Their release was "very strange", said the Foreign Minister.

What struck observers here as a prize weapon for Lesotho in its verbal war with South Africa seemed to have rebounded to Maseru's discredit.

The Government gave no clue as to how the alleged SAP men procured their release, saying only the matter was under investigation.

Asked for evidence that the captives were SAP — such as their

passports — Mr Sekhon-
yana said: "The evi-
dence is so positive that
if I were to give the
slightest hint of it, steps
would be taken (by
South Africa) to destroy
the grounds of the evi-

dence."

He said he could not
give the number of SAP
men arrested for "strate-
gic reasons" — the fig-
ure seven was released
by the chief of police.

Leabua's Wit is Folly

WE DO NOT know exactly what Chief Leabua Jonathan is about, but his almost desperate attempts to wage a kind of battle of wits with South Africa is strictly embarrassing. And while we recognise the heavy odds this little country has against the formidable power of South Africa, we cannot but regard their attempts as puny and often silly.

Lesotho's dicy situation shows starkly what can happen to a country on South Africa's borders which is falling out of step, or rather that seems to pursue a threatening policy against this country. It is a well-known fact that the Jonathan government has made something of a volte face from its earlier conciliatory stance towards our government.

There are clear signs that this little kingdom is making all too many friends with eastern European countries — something that is like a death knell to South African ears.

Whatever the reasons behind this country's vicious attack on Lesotho not too long ago, we find it difficult to understand the open hostility that South Africa harbours against them. Surely there is not the faintest hope in the world for Lesotho to do us any harm, even if the Soviet Union itself armed them to the teeth.

But having said that we feel Lesotho is making a very poor show in trying to mount some kind of psychological battle against South Africa. The sudden disappearance of South African soldiers or policemen

they had claimed to have arrested does not make for very bracing reading. It is awfully embarrassing to say the least.

There is no doubt that South Africa will not treat any country with kid gloves if she has the slightest belief that she could be in some kind of danger from that country. This makes it particularly true of countries inside and on her borders.

Lesotho has somehow flirted openly with left wing countries — and we are not even including the ANC refugees who are there after all on political asylum. We are speaking of contact this country has too frequently and openly shown towards socialist and even communist countries. That is unfortunately asking for trouble in these parts as everyone knows the paranoia towards such elements in South Africa.

We do not know how Lesotho is going to wangle herself out of this present muddle, but there has to be some honest answers to awkward questions. There has also got to be some face saving as in all disputes. The trouble is, by making so much noise about something that was not properly checked, officials have given South Africa the necessary leeway for breathing space after her Maseru military assaults.

It is perhaps because of some of the internal problems she is encountering particularly with the Lesotho Liberation Army (LLA) which is believed to be backed by South Africa that has caused such a major diplomatic gaffe from Chief Leabua Jonathan.

WALVIS BAY BECOMES SA NATIONAL SECURITY POINT 1 MARCH

Windhoek WINDHOEK OBSERVER in English 31 Mar 83 p 24

[Text] Walvis Bay was shrouded in heavy fog early on Sunday morning. There was no sign of life. A reporter stopping at the Police checkpoint at the Port, was told that he could no longer enter the harbour area without a permit.

At first the poor man thought that such a regulation was only applicable on him, and being one of the "Outcasts of Society", he took it in a spirit of resignation.

Then however, he learned that everyone entering the harbour area as from March 1, of this year, required a permit. Even people working permanently in the Port, inclusive of the skippers of tugs and the pilots are required to have these documents. It even applied to the Port Captain.

The reason seems to be security. When a reporter called at the Railway Police, the two young men on duty were friendly and helpful. They asked the reporter whether he had a movie camera on him and when he said only a normal camera, he was told that he could enter and was given a permit.

In port, there was absolutely nothing that he could find that could possibly justify classification. The work at the extension of the quay on the eastern section is continuing after a severe breakdown when engineers struggled to sort out a foundation problem. It became apparent that the foundation down on the seabed could not take the heavy concrete of the quay and modifications were called for. Even the pleasure cruiser, Oryx--otherwise known as the patrol boat of the fishing port--was not in port--probably on a pleasure cruise.

Movie Cameras Not Permitted Since the Promulgation

[photo omitted]

[Caption] An unusual picture, taken in heavy fog of the tugs Danie Hugo, left, and the Sturrock, making steam early on Sunday morning, 24 hours prior to the arrival of the tanker Mobil Refiner from Durban. She was scheduled to start discharging a cargo of oil on Monday afternoon. In the background, the Spanish refrigerated vessel Sierra Luna, which discharged a consignment of refrigerated fish, which is being stored in the coolrooms of SWA Cold Storage--for we have no beef to export and the coolrooms are only used fractionally, mostly by foreign factory ships and trawlers.

BRIEFS

MERZARIO OFFICE--Merzario, the giant Italian forwarding company, which has a large share of the booming trade between South Africa and Italy, is to open an office in Johannesburg. With more than 40 branches in Italy, Merzario is the Italian contractor to the Micor-Kompakt Forwarding Organisation. It is heavily involved in worldwide transportation, including trucking, rail, steamship and airfreight operations. Claudio Quarenta, who heads the local Merzario operation, tells Business Times that the value of cargo exported via Italy to South Africa jumped from R204-million in 1978 to R638-million in 1981. He adds: "The main benefit of being locally represented is that we are on the spot to give importers the benefit of our expertise in the trade and will assist them in obtaining the optimum landed cost for their consignments. "Our large volume of cargo means that we are able to provide regular sea and air freight consolidations--that is, loading multiple shipments from several suppliers in one container. "This results in major savings in freight costs as well as forwarding and customs clearing charges." [Excerpt] [Johannesburg SUNDAY TIMES 27 Mar 83 p 40]

ATTACK ANNOUNCED ON RAILWAY LINE--The gallant combatants of our people's army, Umkhonto we Sizwe, have registered yet another victorious action against the enemy. Yesterday morning they blasted the railway line between Port Elizabeth and Uitenhage near the village of Swartkops, causing extensive damage. The deputy commissioner of the Railway Police, the fascist (Pik Duplesis), reluctantly admitted the blast and added that no one was injured or killed. This operation, which took place on the fourth anniversary of the judicial murder of our hero, Comrade (Solomon Mashango), also proves that our combatants choose their targets and that they always avoid any loss of innocent life. [Text] [ANC program] [EA081157 Addis Ababa Radio Freedom in English to South Africa 1930 GMT 7 Apr 83]

CSO: 3400/1134

NATIONAL COUNCIL CHAIRMAN COMMENTS ON MABANDLA

MB111934 Mbabane Domestic Television Service in Siswati 1630 GMT 11 Apr 83

[Text] Mr David Lukhele, the secretary of the Swaziland National Council, today told our reporter that Prince Mabandla, who was dismissed as the country's prime minister and fled to South Africa, told the supreme council, in the presence of Enos Mabuza, the chief executive councillor of Kangwane, that there was no way of correcting the course of justice in Swaziland.

Mr Lukhele said Prince Mabandla asked this council the question: If the Swazis had the nerve to dismiss him, a prince, what was Mabuza after all? Mr Lukhele said that Mr Mabuza is expected to explain to the council meeting in Bethal on 24 April why Prince Mabandla left home after being thanked by the Queen Mother Dzeliwe on 18 March this year.

Asked by our reporter whether he, himself, had heard the disclosures by the Royal House about what Prince Mabandla is purported to have said, Mr Lukhele said that he has full knowledge that Prince Mabandla had said all those things. Asked about the source of the report that Prince Mabandla is advising Mr Enos Mabuza on the Kangwane land question, Mr Lukhele said he had not heard Prince Mabandla advising Mr Mabuza, but he sees that as a possibility because Mr Mabuza and Prince Mabandla had been inseparable, even while Prince Mabandla was still our prime minister.

When asked where Prince Mabandla was staying, Mr Lukhele said he stays at the home of a well-known Kangwane businessman. Asked what Prince Mabandla intends to do in the future, Mr Lukhele said that he does not know, because the prince has tried and failed many times to get asylum in countries such as Israel, Tanzania and Mozambique. Mr Lukhele said these countries turned down Prince Mabandla's requests for fear of jeopardizing their good relations with Swaziland.

Our reporter then talked with Mr Mabuza, after conflicting reports had been received that Prince Mabandla had been seen in Lobamba sometime last week. However, those who are supposed to be well-informed about the prince's arrival at Lobamba--that is, if he did come at all--said they knew nothing about these reports. Mr Lukhele said that he last saw Prince Mabandla in Kangwane on Thursday, when he arrived after leaving the Republic of South Africa. However, the Likoqo recently announced that Prince Mabandla is free to return home and added that at the moment there are still no plans to charge him with anything. These reports by the Likoqo followed reports from South Africa that Prince Mabandla fled in fear for his life.

MINISTER CALLS FOR NAMIBIAN INDEPENDENCE

MB111336 Mbabane THE TIMES OF SWAZILAND in English 11 Apr 83 pp 1, 16

[Article by Mashumi Twala]

[Text] Swaziland would like Namibia to be granted her independence immediately.

"Any delay on this matter is not going to be in the interests of either party," Foreign Affairs Minister, Mr R.V. Dlamini, said.

He was speaking to the Tanzanian High Commissioner to Swaziland, Mr Charles Kileo, who had paid him a visit.

He said: "It is important to respect each other's territorial integrity and sovereignty. Dialogue has always been a cornerstone of mutually settling disputes, and Swaziland will continue to support it rather than adopt confrontation in settling disputes.

"It is in the interest of peace, stability and progress that such colonial mistakes should be corrected once and for all. "It is the interest of everyone concerned in the region to work for peace, harmony and understanding.

"For as long as there are things like apartheid it will be hard to realize that peace and that understanding which is so vital for the orderly development of all our peoples."

He added: "The upholding and practice of apartheid by South Africa hinders peace and the social economical stability of the Southern African region. Swaziland will continue to co-operate with South Africa economically because of the economical and geographical position of the two countries."

In reply, Mr Kileo said Swaziland and Tanzania shared a lot of similarities. He said the pillars of friendship and co-operation between the two states had been solidified much tighter in trade. An example of this, he said, was the purchase from Swaziland of Tinkhaba tractors.

Mr Kileo invited the Kingdom to the Tanzania trade fair to be held in July.

PRIME MINISTER PLEDGES PEACE, STABILITY, UNITY

MB111255 Mbabane THE TIMES OF SWAZILAND in English 11 Apr 83 pp 1, 16

[Text] Peace and stability will continue to be the cornerstone of this country.

Government will do all in its power to ensure that the peace and stability his late Majesty King Sobhuza II cherished so much is maintained, the Prime Minister, Prince Bhekimpe, has said.

In an interview with THE TIMES at the weekend, Prince Bhekimpi said stability was essential if this country was to develop economically, especially in these difficult times of world recession.

He expressed particular concern that "as a result of the recession industrial development in the country had become sluggish and that unemployment was becoming a major problem."

He called for unity among the country's population at these difficult times in the world economies. "Without unity, we cannot hope to win the battle before us," said the prime minister.

Prince Bhekimpi also made it clear that he had no intention of deviating from the country's present policies as laid down by the late King Sobhuza.

"Swaziland will continue to pursue, among others, the policy of peaceful negotiations as the only reasonable method to solve problems," he said.

The Kingdom will, as in the past, not interfere in the internal affairs of other countries and will also not expect interference in its own affairs by other countries.

"We will follow the policies of our late King because we believe they are the best for the survival of our nation," he stated.

On the land deal with South Africa, the prime minister said the Swazi people wherever they be have a right to be united because that is how God wants it. He stated that it would be unfair to refuse the Swazi people the right to unite just because a few people have decided to ignore the facts of history and elected to oppose this unity.

"It is the will of God that people belonging to the same race should live together freely," he said. Prince Bhekimpi has been outspoken in his opposition to the present border between Swaziland and South Africa for many years.

In 1959, he approached the King at Lobamba to express this view and to suggest what should be done to unite the Swazi people on both sides of the border.

Asked about his recent decision to resign from parliament, the prime minister said he took this action after the house had refused to extend an apology to the Queen Regent after members had criticised her speech from the throne.

In his own experience of almost 20 years, he said he could not recall a single incident when members criticised the king's speech from the throne as they did this year.

Prince Bhekimpi was elected to Swaziland's first legislative council in 1964.

Meanwhile, at the weekend, Prince Bhekimpi addressed a large meeting at his area, Enkhaba, and formally reported to the elders and his subjects about his recent appointment. He told the meeting that the responsibilities of heading the government of this country had not in fact been placed upon his shoulders as an individual, but upon those of the entire community in his area.

He said whatever he did as prime minister will not only reflect back to him as a person, but to the community of his area. "If I failed to carry the goods home, the blame will not only come to me, but to you here, and if I did my job well, the credit will come to you and not to me," he told the meeting.

CSO: 3400/1162

PRESIDENT'S CONTROL OF INTERNAL DEVELOPMENTS 'WEAKER'

London AFRICA CONFIDENTIAL in English No 61, 16 Mar 83 pp 2, 3

[Text]

President **Julius Nyerere**'s control of internal developments appears to be weaker than at almost any time since the 1964 rebellion in Zanzibar and army mutiny on the mainland. Few details of the coup attempt unearthed in December have emerged, though the state prosecution accuses those involved of planning to assassinate Nyerere and overthrow the government. We understand from good sources that the attempt entailed a confrontation between the "plotters" and Nyerere at State House. Nyerere refused to stand down, and the attempt at a "coup by persuasion" then apparently collapsed. This is only part of the story.

The cabinet reshuffle late last month was probably a consequence of the failed coup attempt. But in most ways it followed Nyerere's longstanding practice of moving familiar faces from ministry to ministry. The most significant changes were **Edward Sokoine**'s reinstatement as prime minister and the transfer of his predecessor, **Cleopa Msuya**, to **Amir Jamal**'s difficult job as finance minister.

When Sokoine resigned the premiership in 1980 it was said that his health was bad. He did have some medical treatment, but while prime minister he became popular and was at times tipped as a possible successor to Nyerere. His popularity now, however, was probably a factor in his reinstatement. With vice-president **Aboud Jumbe** finding increasingly little room for manoeuvre because of tension in Zanzibar (AC Vol 23 No 21 and Vol 24 No 1), Sokoine could be considered again as a successor to Nyerere, though the latter has recently shown no sign of wishing to retire. Sokoine undoubtedly has much experience of security matters through his association with the ruling *Chama Cha Mapinduzi* (CCM) national security affairs department. The country-wide network of CCM members-cum-informers, which in practice is virtually inseparable from the secret police department, is a powerful

deterrent to potential coup makers.

Msuya is not a political heavyweight and was dominated by Nyerere and the ruling clique (see below) while prime minister. For several months he was acting finance minister while Jamal underwent open heart surgery from which he is still recovering. Jamal retains an office in State House and a cabinet seat and is responsible for the Structural Adjustment Programme. Msuya's new role will therefore be limited, though he is to be responsible for negotiations with the *World Bank* and the IMF.

The other cabinet changes worth noting are Lt. Gen. **Abdallah Twalipo's** change from minister of defence to minister for special duties at State House, where he replaces **Abdallah Natepe**, now minister for home affairs, and Brig. **Muhidin Kimario's** move from home affairs to defence. The significance of the above merry-go-round is probably marginal: Twalipo, as defence minister, presided over the armed forces when at least 20 servicemen were involved in the coup plot; Kimario was probably the only practical alternative for the defence portfolio; and Nyerere has to handle Natepe with some care - Natepe being an "old-guard" revolutionary who wanted to take over the presidency of Zanzibar when **Abeid Karume** was assassinated in 1972. Natepe appears still to resent Jumbe's incumbency.

Newcomers of note to the cabinet are **Rashidi Kawawa** (a former prime minister), the energetic secretary-general of CCM, and **Paul Bomani**, former longstanding ambassador to the US, who received a minor portfolio as minister of minerals. (He held more senior posts before his ambassadorial appointment). At last year's CCM congress, Bomani was criticised because of his moderate views. His strength is his position as political leader of the important Mwanza region, nationally important because it produces much of Tanzania's cotton production. During the last six months there has been tension in Mwanza, not least due to late and inadequate payments to cotton producers by government buying agents. There have also been reports of disturbance in the local military.

While satisfactory political assessment of the leadership is now extremely difficult, conventional wisdom is that the top clique consists of six people: Nyerere; his personal assistant, Joan Wicken; security eminence grise and foremost presidential henchman, Joseph Butiku (Nyerere's nephew); the army commander, Maj. Gen. Msuguri; the attorney-general and minister of justice, Joseph Warioba; and the governor of the central bank, Charles Nyirabu. (Nyerere's brother-in-law). It may be coincidence that apart from Wicken, the above are all from Nyerere's Zanaki tribe. Jamal and Kighoma Malima, minister of state for planning and economic development, also certainly both have Nyerere's ear.

So far the only political figure accused of involvement in the coup plot is Christopher Ngaiza, an assistant to the president (with an office in State House) who headed the Kagera River Basin Development Authority. He has a power-base among the numerous Haya tribe of the Kagera region in the west. But as the investigations continue, other politicians may be implicated. Certainly it is doubtful that the 29 now accused of complicity in the plot make up all those actually involved. (Last week another businessman was accused, taking the number formally accused from 28 to 29).

We understand that for some reason at least two senior officers have not been charged. As can be seen from the footnote, three lieutenant colonels, one major, eight captains, seven lieutenants and one sergeant comprise the 20 servicemen accused so far. Four of the middle ranks are from the airforce. There is no discernable tribal allegiance among the 20.

There has been inevitable speculation that the former secretary-general of the 1960s Tanganyika African National Union, Oscar Kambona, was involved from his exile in London. Pius Lugangila one of the accused, is the only non-resident among the 29. He has allegedly three addresses in London--hence the supposed connection with Kambona, who denies any involvement. However, if there was any significant financial backing needed for the coup attempt, most of it probably came from local businessmen. Jayantilal Rajani, a prominent Asian businessman among the accused, is alleged to have provided some finance.

Sympathy for the conspirators, insofar as many people want change, is widespread, but falls short of much open hostility to Nyerere himself, who remains respected if only for his personal commitment and integrity. Yet the economy continues to collapse. And there is no sign of more than minor shifts in government policy. The government's Structural Adjustment Programme assumes massive aid and IMF and World Bank loans. The IMF has reduced the severity of some of the policy conditions it requires of Tanzania, but the government is far from accepting the 35-50% devaluation and economic liberalisation the IMF still wants. The moderates in CCM, scared by last year's congress, have made no headway with arguments for more flexible government policy. In public they now stress the party line.

Shortages of basic goods will become more acute; prices will continue upwards; the black market, corruption and crime can also only increase. The continued absence of a practical agricultural policy, including the lack of incentive to farmers to grow the cash crops the nation depends on, has forced the authorities to resort to compulsion in some areas. While popular resignation is turning to anger, the government seems to be developing a siege mentality. In a forthcoming issue we will examine the economic crisis in detail.

Footnote

Servicemen

Lieutenant Colonels: Martin Msami; Protas Muchwampaka; Martin Ngalombo.

Major: Reversion Mchwampaka

Captains: Patrick Roberts; Solomon Makamondo; Vitalis Mapunda; Zakaria Hansfolk; Abdul Mketu; Harry Hansfolk; Athamni Kazukamwe; Dietram Bugolo.

Lieutenants: Badru Kajaja; Pascal Cahka; John Chitunguli; Mark Mkudi; John Mdelwa; Drefus Royongeza, Otmus Haule.

Sergeant: Michael Mwigulu

Others

Hati Mache (pilot with Air Tanzania): Pius Lugangila (businessman); George Banyikwa (businessman); Jayantilil Rajani (Businessman); Solomon Masoro (businessman); Tadel Boniface (lecturer at Dar es Salaam University); Ramadhani Oto (mechanic); Robert Bayona (marketing manager of the Bora shoe company); and Christopher Ngaiza (assistant to the president).

CSO: 3400/1109

NASACO OFFICIAL SAYS REVENUES INCREASE ANNUALLY, PROFITS DECLINE

Dar es Salaam DAILY NEWS in English 23 Mar 83 p 3

[Text] The National Shipping Agencies Company (NASACO) collected a revenue of 70m/- in 1981/82 compared to 61m/- earned in the previous year.

An official of the company said in Dar es Salaam yesterday the revenue was a marked improvement of 62 per cent since the period of 1976/77 when only 43m/- was netted.

The official said NASACO has been collecting more revenue annually. In 1977/78, it generated 46m/-. It stood at 54m/- in 1979/80.

The official said while revenue increased, profits declined for instance, he said, in 1976/77 the profit was 27m/- but fell to 22m/- in 1980/81

The lower profit margin, he said, could be attributed to the frequent price rises for spare parts, tyres and overall drop in imports due to the country's adverse economic situation.

The official explained that operational and administrative costs had increased. He said in 1976/77 the expenditure was 17m/-, rising to 20m/- in 1977/78, and 27m/- in 1978/79.

Expenditure in subsequent years was 30m/- (1979/80); 38m/- (1980/81) and 43m/- (1981/82), he added.

The official said the company had effected some measures to reduce costs, including the withdrawal of overtime payments which were in excess of salary scales.

CSO: 3400/1121

MINISTER URGES PARTY TO PREPARE 1981 PARTY GUIDELINES IMPLEMENTATION SCHEDULE

Dar es Salaam DAILY NEWS in English 24 Mar 83 p 1

[Article by Mkumbwa Ally]

[Excerpt] The Party has been urged to prepare an elaborate schedule for implementation of the 1981 Party Guidelines.

The Minister of State for Planning and Economic Affairs, Professor Kighoma Malima told the seminar for ministers and senior government and parastatal institutions officials in Dar es Salaam yesterday that this would facilitate the implementation process.

Prof. Malima said strategies for improved economic performance had been set and that Party, Government and parastatal organisations leaders should identify their specialised roles and "implement them with full force".

In a paper, "implementation of the 1981 CCM Guidelines", Prof. Malima who is also a member of the Party National Executive Committee (NEC) told the seminar that the guidelines recommended solutions for the major economic and institutional problems facing the country.

He said most of the guidelines were in various stages of implementation but that more efforts were needed in a number of fields.

The minister said stringent legal measures directed by the guidelines against economic crimes such as theft of public property, armed banditry, smuggling and flagrant business contracts should be instituted immediately.

He said the policy decision had been discussed exhaustively and that it was time to take concrete deterrent measures without further delay.

Prof. Malima cautioned that recurrence of such malpractices without tangible countermeasures would erode public confidence in the government.

He said the essence of criticism and self-criticism was for leaders and public officials to learn from past mistakes and realign themselves towards the right direction.

Those who failed to do so should be punished accordingly, the minister said, adding that delayed corrective measures were detrimental.

Prof. Malima said implementors of development plans must lay out appropriate strategies to ensure smooth and co-ordinated implementation of objectives.

He said under the long-term development strategy, emphasis would be put on co-ordinated plans as opposed to isolated project plans.

The minister said development plans supporting the country's policy of self-reliance should be given priority. He pointed out that in some cases projects were launched indiscriminately as long as foreign donors were ready to fund them.

He explained that foreign aid would continue to have a role in national development stressing that this must be channelled to programmes which aim at enhancing self-reliance.

CSO: 3400/1121

MINISTRY DIRECTS RADO TO SEND FERTILIZER REQUIREMENTS TO TFC

Dar es Salaam DAILY NEWS in English 25 Mar 83 p 1

[Article by Mike Sikawa]

[Excerpt] The Ministry of Agriculture has directed all Regional Agricultural Development Officers (RADO) to send their regional fertiliser requirements to the Tanzania Fertiliser Company (TFC) by the end of next month.

Informed sources said in Dar es Salaam yesterday that the directive had been issued to enable the fertiliser company make the necessary arrangements for allocations to each region.

The sources said only Iringa and Ruvuma regions had so far submitted their requirements as of yesterday, and that communication from other regions were still being awaited.

According to the sources, the Iringa Regional Development Committee (RDC) which met recently, said the region needed 60,000 tonnes of fertiliser during the coming season. Ruvuma had also said it required the same amount, the sources said.

The sources, however, expressed reservations on the Iringa and Ruvuma figures because the estimated national fertiliser demand stood at 120,000 tonnes a year, which would mean that the two regions would consume all of it leaving the other regions with nothing.

Decision on what amount each region should get would, however, be made when all the regions had sent in their requirements, the sources said.

Other sources revealed yesterday that 55,000 tonnes of raw rock phosphates produced at the Arusha-based Minjingu Phosphate Mines (MPC) would be used unprocessed to supplement the shortfall which cannot be met by TFC.

MPC has a capacity of producing some 100,000 tonnes of rock phosphates annually and some 45,000 tonnes are due to be sent to TFC in Tanga for fertiliser manufacturing.

According to the sources, a study will be carried out on this proposal, but it is most likely that the raw phosphates will be distributed to areas around Arusha to avoid high transportation costs.

The rock phosphate is to be ground and refined before being distributed to these areas, according to the sources. Statistically, 1.6 tonnes of rock phosphates produce one tonne of TSP (Triple Super Phosphate) which is produced at the TFC plant.

Since rock phosphate has some 28 per cent of phosphorous, and TSP has about 46 per cent of phosphorous, more rock phosphate is, therefore, bound to be used to get the same effect as that of TSP.

CSO: 3400/1121

DEADLINE SET FOR OBJECTIONS TO DISTRICT COUNCILS' ESTABLISHMENT

Dar es Salaam DAILY NEWS in English 22 Mar 83 p 1

[Excerpt] The Government has set two months, effective today, during which objections or representations from authority or individuals regarding the establishment of district councils may be submitted to the Prime Minister's Office (PMO).

According to a statement issued by the Prime Minister's Office in Dar es Salaam yesterday, the Government intended to establish 80 district councils on Tanzania Mainland.

The statement noted that "any authority or person interested in, or likely to be affected by, the establishment of any district council may lodge with the Minister in writing any objections or other representations by registered mail to the Principal Secretary, Prime Minister's Office".

The statement further noted "The area of the District Council intended to be established in respect to each district shall consist of the wards and villages which currently constitute each of the districts in question".

Eighty district councils are to be established in Armeru, Kiteto, Mbulu, Hanang, Monduli, Ngorongoro, Dodoma, Mpwapwa, Kondoa, Iringa, Njombe, Ludewa, Mufindi, Makete, Bukoba, Karagwe, Biharamulo, Ngara, Muleba, Kigoma, Kasulu, Kibondo, Moshi, Hai, Rombo, Mwanga and Same.

Others are Lindi, Nachingwea, Liwale, Kilwa, Musoma, Tarime, Serengeti, Bunda, Mbeya, Rungwe, Kyela, Ileje, Chunya, Mbozi, Morogoro, Kilosa, Ulanga, Kilombero, Mtwara, Masasi, Newala, Geita, Sengerema, Magu, Ngudu, Ukerewe, Bagamoyo, Kisarawe, Kibaha, Utete-Rufiji, Mafia, Sumbawanga, Nakasi and Mpanda.

The rest are Songea, Tunduru, Mbinga, Shinyanga, Kahama, Maswa, Bariadi, Singida, Manyoni, Iramba, Tabora, Nzega, Igunga, Urambo, Handeni, Muheza, Korogwe, Lushoto and Pangani.

The establishment of district councils is in pursuance of the provisions of Section 7 of the Local Government (District Authorities) Act, passed by Parliament last year.

CSO: 3400/1121

BET ORGANIZED WORKSHOP ON EXPORT MARKETING RESEARCH HELD

Dar es Salaam DAILY NEWS in English 28 Mar 83 p 1

[Article by Elizabeth Marealle]

[Text] FIRMS, including parastatal organisations in the country have been urged to direct their marketing research and trade promotion efforts to neighbouring countries.

The call was made in Dar es Salaam at the weekend by the Director-General of the Board of External Trade Ndugu Mbaruk Mwandoro, when closing a six-day workshop on export marketing research.

He said that with the present technological development, Tanzania had great export potential for its manufactured non-traditional products in the neighbouring countries.

However, he said up-grading of quality compared to domestic production as well as desired changes in the product design, packaging and labelling needed to be undertaken to suit specific needs of the market.

Regarding export crops, he emphasised that more attempts should be made to export semi-finished products rather than raw materials.

The workshop, organised by BET in conjunction with the International Trade Centre (ITC-UNCTAD-GATT), was designed to introduce new concepts and techniques of export marketing research to senior officials of firms engaged in export marketing.

Earlier, the participants held a panel discussion during which they pointed out that the major constraint hindering growth of export trade was on the supply side whereby production is low due to lack of foreign exchange for importation of fuel, machinery, spare parts and raw materials.

One participant said the country lacked adequate marketing information and staff to undertake marketing surveys abroad.

Another argued that the quality of Tanzanian exports was not in consonance with foreign consumer requirements, adding that transport bottlenecks and lack of proper information on packaging also hampered export growth.

The government was asked to increase the export incentive package because, a participant argued, the one offered in 1981 was too low.

The ITC-UNCTAD-GATT project Coordinator in Tanzania, Mr. Narinder Bharadwaj, advised the market researchers to do their homework thoroughly by contacting appropriate authorities in order to sort out their problems before embarking on survey missions abroad.

He expressed hope the knowledge acquired by the participants will be used in their day-to-day functions and pledged ITC's assistance to Tanzania exporters in their efforts to promote their exports.

Participants were drawn from Tanzania Tea Blenders, Tanzania Shoe Company, the State Mining Corporation, Tegry Plastics, Saruji Corporation, J.V. Group, Tanzania Cigarette Company, Tanzania Cotton Authority and General Agricultural Products Export Corporation.

Others came from the Institute of Development Management (IDM) Mzumbe, Tanzania Carpets Company, Tanzania Bureau of Standards, Ministry of Trade, BET, Metal Products [words illegible]

CSO: 3400/1112

SOKOINE ADDRESSES PARTY SEMINAR FOR GOVERNMENT LEADERS

Sokoine's Speech

Dar es Salaam SUNDAY NEWS in English 27 Mar 83 p 1

[Article by Attilio Tagalile]

[Text] TOP government and parastatal organisations leaders have been told that they hold their positions in trust of the masses and that their conduct and ability to lead would be judged by the people.

Prime Minister Edward Sokoine said this in Dar es Salaam yesterday at the closing session of a five-day Party organised seminar for ministers, principal secretaries, judges and top leaders of parastatal organisations.

He said in a two-hour speech that the fact that they held the posts did not mean that they were better than the people who had appointed them. Since the objective of the CCM Government was to realise economic development and human equality, it was imperative that the leaders ensured the realisation of such goals, he added.

Ndugu Sokoine said it was important to understand that every leader was entrusted not only with responsibilities and clearly defined limitations, but was also accountable to the people through the authority that had elected or appointed him for his good or bad conduct.

Ndugu Sokoine said: "Once one accepts a leadership post, he must in the same vein accept responsibilities and accountability. If you neglect your responsibilities you will be committing a gross mistake."

The Prime Minister said leaders who went beyond their limits in exercising their powers were also committing mistakes.

Ndugu Sokoine said there were two ways through which the people could criticise and advise the government in the event of its deviating from the path.

One was through the National Assembly and the other through the ballot. Through the National Assembly, he said, the people's representatives, Members of Parliament questioned and scanned government developing plans with a view to ensuring that they tallied with people's expectations.

Ndugu Sokoine called on the ministers to note the responsibilities of the national assembly and thereby ensure that they briefed MPs well on their ministries' activities in order to assist the National Assembly in performing its duties.

He said it was important to realise that the National Assembly was the eye of the people, adding that, it was "watch dog". He said the National Assembly and the President were the only authorities empowered to enact laws in the country.

Secondly, he said the National Assembly was the only institution empowered to authorise recurrent and development expenditures for the government and its ministries.

Ndugu Sokoine said lately some Tanzanians have been saying that the National Assembly had no teeth since it was simply barking both to the government and parastatal organisations, while their leaders and workers continued to get their salaries.

He said these people would have liked to see their National Assembly ensuring that corrective measures are taken against leaders and workers who were responsible for mistakes committed in the course of performing their duties.

He said the Party, Government and the National Assembly will have to look into this with a view to strengthening the National Assembly. He said the on going discussions on the constitutional proposals was an opportunity to look critically into the issue.

In a bid to implement its objectives smoothly, he said there were eight parliamentary committees which assisted the National Assembly in ensuring the government's accountability to the people.

He said following recent Party proposals, the committees will be provided with more experts to assist the National Assembly in performing its duties more efficiently.

He said in future the government will give weight to directives given by the committees.

On the role of the ministers and regional commissioners, he said it was highly objectionable for them to support explicitly or implicitly Members of Parliament who opposed Party or Government decisions.

He said if a minister or regional commissioner felt that his conscience did not allow him to support the Party or Government move then it was logical he resigned from his post.

He said in the event of all Members of Parliament turning down government's moves in the National Assembly and thereby striking wide disagreement with the government on several issues, the alternative would be for the President to dissolve the Parliament and call for presidential and parliamentary elections.

Ndugu Sokoine said the National Assembly was a place which should ensure that although Tanzania is a one Party state, democracy and basic principles of justice are maintained.

Sokoine's Address 'Serious, Thought-Provoking'

Dar es Salaam SUNDAY NEWS in English 27 Mar 83 p 4

[Editorial]

[Text] ONCE again national attention has been drawn to the poor position of our economy, pointing more to the methodology of finding concrete solutions rather than moralising over known problems.

This time, this opportunity came by way of a five-day Party organised seminar for the top brass--government ministers, principal secretaries, judges and leaders of parastatal organisations--which ended in Dar es Salaam yesterday.

In a serious and thought-provoking closing address by the Prime Minister, Ndugu Edward Sokoine, one point came out very clearly: The need to immediately perfect our methods of work, deepening our resolve to achieve tangible results.

The seminar was a significant departure from past experiences in that for the first time ever, it brought together top government and parastatal leaders to critically re-examine their roles in society against the background of the situation currently obtaining in the country.

Frank exchanges, undertaken in the Party spirit of criticism and self-criticism, demonstrated the country's consciousness that Socialism is the only way to build an egalitarian and just society.

We have to strive for organisation, that is, every peasant and worker in whatever capacity must understand his role and level of responsibility and accountability in the struggle to build socialism in our country.

Above all, a knowledgeable leadership, dedicated and ready to work in harmony and coherently for the accomplishment of the tasks defined by society is most essential.

For quite sometime now, economic management institutions have been operating as if they were separate from each other while fully aware that the Party has defined and specified particular tasks that ought to be accomplished in co-ordination.

The expectation of the people of this country after the just ended leaders' seminar is more and better co-ordination of tasks to that the final objective --national economic revival--is realised in quantifiable production volume.

Peasants and workers, are the determinants of our success in the economic war. For they are the real producers of goods in factories, on the farms and at work places in the service institutions.

As stressed at the seminar, the leaders besides setting good examples to others must also ascertain that they are not among elements that are prone to wavering, confused, compromised or apologetic about socialist construction.

It means being fair and firm to all workers under them. Those who are not diligent or lack discipline, must be dealt with immediately. Penal measures must be instituted against failure to fulfil the goals we have set for our society.

Production must remain our primary goal for the improvement of the current poor economic position with the entire society mobilising available energy and resources towards sustained national development effort.

The Party has taken the initiative in fostering participation of leaders, and peasants and workers in the entire development process and the Party's instruments of implementation--government and parastatals--will be depended upon to produce the results we want for our society.

CSO: 3400/1112

BARBAIG RESETTLEMENT PROGRAM 'SUCCESS'

Dar es Salaam DAILY NEWS in English 26 Mar 83 p 3

[Text] THE three-year programme to re-settle the Barbaigs in the villages of Maswa District, Shinyanga Region, has been a success, and efforts are now being directed towards development projects in the villages concerned.

According to a report by the Regional Development Committee, construction of class rooms, teacher's houses and cattle dips in the villages concerned during the coming financial year are estimated to cost 325,000/-.

The programme to resettle the Barbaigs in permanent villages was established by the Government during 1978/79 under the supervision of the Prime Minister's Office. It involves all regions with the Barbaig community. The regions are Shinyanga, Arusha, Dodoma and Singida.

The programme was established because the Barbaigs were moving from one place to another in search of pasture for their livestock, especially during the dry spell.

Shinyanga Region is estimated to have more than 430 Barbaigs households with more than 2,000 people owning 260,000 domestic animals.

CSO: 3400/1112

LEADERS FROM FOUR REGIONS TO COOPERATE IN DEVELOPMENT

Dar es Salaam DAILY NEWS in English 26 Mar 83 p 3

[Article by Mangengesa Mdimi]

[Text] TOP Party and Government leaders from Tukwa, Mbeya and Iringa regions met here yesterday to chart out strategy for cooperation on matters pertaining to the development of their regions. Leaders from Ruvuma, a member of the four-region Southern Highlands zone did not attend due to commitments at home.

Leaders in attendance included Regional Party chairmen, members of the Party National Executive Committee (NEC), Regional Party Secretaries, Regional Commissioners and Regional Development Directors.

The Iringa Regional Commissioner, Ndugu Athumani Kabongo said after the meeting that the Southern Highlands regions identified areas of co-operation and appointed a six-man secretariat to draw up an action programme to be discussed at the next meeting to be held in Mbeya at a date to be announced later.

Ndugu Kabongo said the meeting noted some issues of co-operation required immediate attention and others were considered to be projects requiring long term implementation. Short term programme include the distribution of agricultural inputs and equipment and crop transportation in the four regions.

Included in the long term programme are detailed projects in agriculture, livestock, industry, communication and transport and marketing.

The secretariat formed yesterday comprises regional planning officers of the four regions.

Ndugu Peter Siyovelwa, a member of NEC from Iringa was appointed chairman of the secretariat and a NEC member from Ruvuma. Ndugu Kapinga was appointed secretary.

Ndugu Siyovelwa in a welcoming speech said the meeting was long overdue for the regions had many things in common.

He said for instance, that agricultural need in four regions were similar. The meeting of the leaders would create a forum for solving economic and social problems faced by the regions, he added.

The regions could undertake joint agricultural or industrial projects requiring large investment both in manpower and finance. They could also create a ready market for the products.

The chairman of the meeting, Ndugu Elias Staki, the Iringa regional Party Chairman, said in an introductory remarks that the leaders of the four regions had agreed to hold such meetings to implement the 1981 Party Guidelines on co-operation among neighbouring regions when they met at the Kivukoni Party Ideological College during a seminar attended by Party and Government leaders last month.

CSO: 3400/1112

SWEDEN AGREES TO PROVIDE GRANT TO RESEARCH INSTITUTES

Dar es Salaam DAILY NEWS in English 26 Mar 83 p 1

[Text] AN agreement under which Sweden will provide Tanzania a grant of nine million shillings to assist the country's research institutes was signed in Dar es Salaam recently.

The Principal Secretary in the Ministry of Finance, Ndugu F. Kazaura, signed on behalf of Tanzania while the Swedish Ambassador to Tanzania, Ndugu David Wirmark, signed on behalf of his country.

Under the agreement, Sweden will make available to Tanzania 4.5m/- during 1982/83 and the balance of 4.5m/- will be given during 1983/84.

Briefing the Daily News yesterday, an economist with the Swedish International Development Authority (SIDA) office in Dar es Salaam, Ndugu L. G. Hinderrson, said the assistance had been channelled through the Swedish Agency for Research and Co-operation with Developing Countries (SAREC) to the National Scientific Research Council (UTAFITI).

Ndugu Hinderrson explained that SAREC and UTAFITI had agreed that part of the funds will be used for research on the preservation of the Usambara forest, one of the richest biological communities in tropical Africa.

Some of the funds would also be channelled to the Tanzania Institute for Research Information Service (TANRIS) to enable it handle adequately documentation of research papers and dissemination of research information, he added.

Meanwhile, Ndugu Hinderrson said yesterday that a two-man delegation from SAREC led by its director, Ndugu Leonard Bage, arrived in the country last Monday to discuss with UTAFITI efforts aimed at enhancing research co-operation between them. The director is accompanied by a member of the SAREC Board of Directors, Professor Nils Nykvist.

SAREC has been funding UTAFITI since August 1979 when an agreement was signed between them under which SAREC pledged to provide nearly 8m/- to promote development-oriented research in the country. The agreement covered the period between July 1979 and June 1982.

The delegation is now visiting the Faculty of Agriculture Forestry and Veterinary Sciences in Morogoro and would go to Sao Hill in Iringa Region to inspect projects funded by them, he said.

They have already held talks with officials of the Muhimbili Medical Centre (MMC) and Tanzania Livestock Research Organisation (TALIRO).

Ndugu Hinderrson said SAREC agreed to provide more funds to the MMC in their efforts to fight malaria, and also assist the National Institute for Medical Research to establish concrete evidence of chloroquine's impotence against malaria parasites.

CSO: 3400/1112

ECONOMIC DELEGATION TO UGANDA

Dar es Salaam DAILY NEWS in English 28 Mar 83 p 1

[Text] A TEN-MAN delegation from various ministries is expected to leave Dar es Salaam for Entebbe, Uganda, today for discussions on bilateral economic matters and the possibility of forming a joint commission for co-operation.

The delegation will consist of top officials from the ministries of Transport and Communications, Planning and Economic Affairs, Trade, Health, and Information and Culture, sources said in Dar es Salaam at the weekend.

According to the sources the officials are to prepare a working document charting the possible areas of co-operation between Tanzania and Uganda, and the necessary structural organs for the likely formation of a joint commission.

A subsequent meeting of ministers of the two countries would study the document for cooperation and eventually sign it to signal the commencement of formal bilateral economic cooperation, the sources said.

Since the fall of the Idi Amin regime in April 1979, there have been joint undertakings between Tanzania and Uganda for reconstruction after the war and cooperation in various economic, technical and social fields.

Various commissions were formed ad hoc to cover cultural, mass media, industries and defence and security but next week's meeting is the first attempt to have all these and other fields coordinated.

CSO: 3400/1112

MINISTRY CLARIFIES AGRICULTURAL DIRECTIVE TO REGIONS

Dar es Salaam DAILY NEWS in English 25 Mar 83 p 1

[Text] The Government clarified yesterday that the directive to regions to spend 33 per cent of their 1983/84 development budget on agriculture was a minimum condition and that it was meant for regions spending less on the sector.

A statement issued by the Ministry of Planning and Economic Affairs in Dar es Salaam said some regions were committing up to 40 per cent of their development budget to agriculture while others allocated only 20 per cent of the funds.

The statement said each region would be expected to spend not less than 33 per cent of the development funds on crop production, livestock projects, feeder roads and tree planting.

Under the directive, included in the guidelines for preparing the 1983/84 annual plan released by the Ministry last month, at least 286 million shillings of the 858 million shillings allocated for regional development during the year should finance agricultural projects.

The Minister for Planning and Economic Affairs, Ndugu Kighoma Malima, told reporters that 24 per cent of the 1983/84 government development budget estimated at 5,100 million shillings would be committed to agricultural development.

This is an increase of eleven per cent over this year's allocation to the sector.

CSO: 3400/1121

BRIEFS

CATTLE FROM NEW ZEALAND--THE Government will receive 1,100 Frasian dairy cattle from New Zealand, President Nyerere was told here yesterday. The Minister for Livestock Development Ndugu Herman Kirigini, explained that the breeders, which were shipped on March 24, had been ordered for the Kitulo Farm in Iringa Region. Mwalimu was inspecting a demonstration dairy farm at Tengeru Livestock Training and Research Institute, ten kilometres from here. The Minister said the animals were expensive but did not mention the cost. The cattle were ordered from New Zealand after efforts to buy some from Zimbabwe failed. [Mkumbwa Ally] [Excerpt] [Dar es Salaam DAILY NEWS in English 28 Mar 83 p 1]

CSO: 3400/1112

'HERALD' SAYS NKOMO PRESSURED TO RETURN

AB121006 Paris AFP in English 0817 GMT 12 Apr 83

[Text] Harare, 12 Apr (AFP)--Two British companies that have been paying for the stay in London of fugitive Zimbabwe opposition leader Joshua Nkomo are now pressuring him to go home, according to a report in the pro-government HERALD newspaper here today.

The HERALD's London correspondent wrote that the two multinational companies had wanted Mr Nkomo to return to Harare last week, and believed his political position was growing weaker the longer he stayed away.

The report said the companies, which had spent 23,000 U.S. dollars on air fares, hotel bills and other expenses for Mr Nkomo and two aides, were now threatening to withdraw their financial support.

Mr Nkomo, 65, fled Zimbabwe for Botswana then London early last month, saying Prime Minister Robert Mugabe had ordered him killed during army operations against anti-government rebels in Mr Nkomo's southwestern stronghold of Bulawayo. The government denied this.

The HERALD report did not identify the companies sponsoring Mr Nkomo in Britain, saying only that they had holdings in Zimbabwe, Zambia, Kenya and other African states. However, it appeared certain that one of them was Lonrho, whose chief executives, Roland "Tiny" Rowland, is a close friend of Mr Nkomo.

The HERALD report said the companies had been incensed when Mr Nkomo told a news conference last week that he was not going home yet because of the publication 29 March of a Zimbabwe Catholic bishops' report on atrocities committed by the army against civilians in the southwest.

His permit to stay in Britain has now been extended to 12 May.

A spokesman for one of the companies was quoted as noting that Mr Nkomo "says he is not a political refugee, but he will become one unless he plucks up courage and returns home before the independence anniversary celebrations (Sunday and Monday). After that his credibility will dwindle away."

The HERALD report said one of the companies was so upset with Mr Nkomo remaining in London that it had stopped taking his telephone calls.

The two companies had kept in touch with the Harare government throughout the affair, the HERALD said. Mr Nkomo had been told through them that the only action pending against him in Zimbabwe would be charges of emerald trafficking and the relatively minor charge of currency violations.

Mr Mugabe has said publicly that Mr Nkomo's safety would be guaranteed if he came back.

CSO: 3400/1161

ZIMBABWE

AIR FORCE REPORTED 'ON THE VERGE OF COLLAPSE'

MB100943 Johannesburg SUNDAY TIMES in English 10 Apr 83 p 1

[SUNDAY TIMES reporter, Harare]

[Excerpts] Zimbabwe air force is on the verge of collapse.

At least 27 white officers including seven group captains and 20 pilots are said to be resigning their post.

They will leave over the next three months.

The commander, Air-Marshall Norman Walsh, has already announced his retirement.

The departure of the white officers could prove a crippling blow to the 3,000 strong air force, according to the SUNDAY TELEGRAPH's correspondent Nirman Kirkham.

The reason for the exodus of senior officers from the Zimbabwe air force is said to be the growing tension and dissatisfaction in the after-math of last year's sabotage attack on the Thornhill Base and the arrest of seven men who face trial over the incident.

Although some white pilots will remain, Mr Mugabe will rely much more in the future on scores of black officers.

Command of the air force is to be taken over by Josiah Tungamirai, once a senior political commissar with Mr Mugabe's guerrilla army, who was appointed air vice-marshal in December.

He had never flown in a military plane before his promotion, and he makes no secret of his dislike for whites in Zimbabwe or his vaunting political ambitions.

Mr Mugabe's government is also expected to turn to China for supplies of MIG 21 aircraft and possibly air force advisers who would help in re-organisation of the officer structure.

BRIEFS

MINING EXPLORATION--MINING exploration has virtually come to a standstill in Zimbabwe and the long-term future of the mining industry is threatened because new ore bodies are needed to replace those that are nearing the end of their lifespan. At the end of 1982 about 40 exclusive prospecting orders (EPOs) were current. None have been applied for since, says a spokesman for the Department of Geological Survey. And, more to the point, little work is going on at the EPO areas, the Chamber of Mines' chief executive, Mr Ken van der Plank, confirmed last week. The reason for the cut in exploration expenditure is the recession and poor commodity prices. Mr Van der Plank said: "Companies are struggling for survival, they have a cash flow problem and have cut back on everything except essentials. Locally based companies have virtually suspended exploration, development and capital expenditure schemes including housing programmes." The stoppage in exploration programmes, he said, "doesn't mean much at this point, but it will in the long-term. The mining industry needs exploration operations and a certain percentage of successful exploration to keep going". Among EPO holders are such major companies as Rio Tinto, Anglo American, Shell, BP and Goldfields, Minerals for which they intended to explore include gold, precious stones, nickel, copper, lead and zinc. [Text] [Harare SUNDAY MAIL in English 20 Mar 83 p 3]

NEW APPOINTMENTS ANNOUNCED--The office of the prime minister has announced the following appointments. The Secretary to the Prime Minister, Dr Utete, has been appointed secretary to the cabinet. Mr (Heljisi), formerly secretary to the cabinet, has been appointed permanent secretary in the ministry of justice. Those appointments are with effect from the beginning of this month. Dr Utete has been secretary to the prime minister since 1981 and has received various cabinet offices since 1979. [Text] [MB111847 Harare Domestic Service in English 1600 GMT 11 Apr 83]

CSO: 3400/1161

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